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New York

President:	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

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04-60499 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Terje Roed-Larsen, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Roed-Larsen to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Terje Roed-Larsen, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Roed-Larsen: Four days ago, a political titan passed away in a French military hospital in Paris. Three days ago, a funeral ceremony was held for Yasser Arafat in Cairo, before he was buried in Ramallah. A giant has left the world political scene. He was a giant for those who supported him and for those who opposed him, for friend and foe alike. His passing marks the end of an era.

For nearly four decades, Yasser Arafat was the leader of the Palestinian people, expressing and embodying the aspirations of his people like no other. That famous face with the trademark kaffiyeh epitomized Palestinian identity and national aspirations, even more than the Palestinian flag or the national anthem. For many, including himself, Abu Amr, the "Old Man", became one with the word Palestine. Personality and territory merged into one and became indistinguishable, a synthesis. But even more so, as a leader, he built the institutions that now are making an orderly transition possible — al-Fatah, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Palestinian Authority with its President, Prime Minister, cabinet and most of all, the democratically elected Legislative Council.

Thirty years ago, Yasser Arafat became the first representative of a non-governmental organization to speak to a plenary session of the General Assembly. One year later, in 1974, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3237 (XXIX), conferring on the PLO the status of observer in the Assembly and in other international conferences held under United Nations auspices.

Yasser Arafat was also the leader who guided the Palestinians, in 1988, to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence between Israel and a future Palestinian State. He will always be remembered for doing so. President Arafat then took a giant step towards the realization of the vision of a Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel, with the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Tragically, he did not live to see that vision fulfilled.

Now that he has gone, both Israelis and Palestinians, and the friends of both peoples throughout the world, must make even greater efforts to bring about the peaceful realization of the Palestinian right of self-determination.

The United Nations, together with our partners in the Quartet and in the region, must continue its work to achieve the full implementation of the road map, as endorsed by the Council in its resolution 1515 (2003). Our shared goals must continue to be the realization of peace in the Middle East, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), and 1397 (2002), the end of the occupation that started in 1967, and the establishment of a sovereign, democratic, viable and contiguous Palestinian state existing side by side in peace with a secure Israel. Although Yasser Arafat did not live to see the attainment of those goals, the world must continue to strive towards them.

Our deep-felt condolences are with President Arafat's wife and young daughter Zahwa. We grieve with them. Our thoughts and prayers are also with his wider family — the Palestinian people, in the hope that they will find the strength, courage and wisdom to look to the future. They must now continue to work for the fulfilment of their aspirations through peaceful means and thus benefit succeeding generations.

These are undoubtedly momentous days in the Middle East. I am glad to say that the Palestinian leadership has reacted commendably and has taken the first firm steps towards instituting a smooth transition of power, in accordance with their Basic Law. They have, by and large, successfully prevented internal unrest in the areas under the control of the Palestinian Authority.

I am further encouraged by the great degree of coordination between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority related to the arrangements for President Arafat's burial. I am particularly pleased to note the fact that Israel allowed Palestinian security forces to bear arms and that the Government of Israel has released 145 million shekels in attached arrears. The extent and success of the coordination in recent days is reminiscent of earlier, happier days, and might herald a new beginning — a new beginning that would not be due to President Arafat's passing, but would be in spite of that very difficult situation.

As a first step, the Palestinians now need to organize and conduct free and fair elections for the presidency within sixty days, in accordance with the Basic Law. The Palestinians also need to undertake visible, sustained, targeted and effective action on the ground to halt violence and terrorist activity. Israel, during this critical time, needs to refrain from all actions undermining trust — including settlement activity — facilitate the preparations and conduct of elections, and take steps to significantly improve the humanitarian situation by lifting curfews and easing restrictions on the movement of persons and goods. All these steps have to be taken in parallel. Only then can they mutually reinforce forward motion.

The Middle East had reached a critical juncture even before the passing of President Arafat. Less than three weeks ago, the Israeli Knesset approved Prime Minister Sharon's initiative to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and parts of the northern West Bank. That historic decision paves the way for the evacuation of Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory for the first time since the occupation began in 1967.

Amidst the remarkable events taking place in the region, I would like to look at the peace process from a different perspective today. In most of our briefings in recent months, we have concentrated on the events and developments on the ground, usually painting a gloomy picture of violence, deterioration, and crisis. Those pictures reflect the sad reality characterizing the Middle East. However, the potential of the present situation contains a perspective to change that reality. I would therefore like today to highlight the bigger picture, one that underlines how far the parties have moved in the past decade and what opportunities remain for them to settle their conflict.

For the past century, the Middle East has been one of the most persistent theatres of conflict in the world. As the members of the Council know better than any, the Arab-Israeli conflict is one of the greatest enduring diplomatic challenges that the world has faced since the middle of the twentieth century. At the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies a dispute of competing and contradictory historical narratives, collective aspirations and identities. For most of its existence, Israel has remained locked in a state of war with one or more of its neighbours, and since the creation of the refugee problem, the Palestinian people have been left in limbo, struggling to find their path to a dignified existence, self-determination and independence.

For both Israelis and Palestinians, their conflict is a deeply existential struggle. Israelis feel the conflict as a constant battle for their very survival, a struggle that needs to be seen against the background of the experience of near-extermination that occurred during the lifetime of current Israeli leaders.

Palestinians feel the struggle as a battle of resistance each and every day for their identity and against the erosion of the possibility of a future as a people. Ultimately, both sides pursue similar aspirations: self-determination, peace, security, prosperity. Both sides have had, in a sense, similar leaders — leaders of war and of peace. One of those was Yitzhak Rabin, whose death we mourned this month nine years ago and who paid with his life for having taken bold and brave steps towards peace. Another is Yasser Arafat, who led the Palestinians in war and in peace and who did not live to see peace and self-determination realized.

The aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians have long been thwarted by violence and crisis. Since September 2000, the peace process has been in reverse. Approximately 3,895 Palestinians and 983 Israelis have been killed. More than 36,620 Palestinians and 6,360 Israelis have been injured. Many of our earlier achievements have been eroded.

The violence of the past four weeks underlines a pattern that has emerged ever more clearly since September 2000, and especially over this past year: Palestinian extremists and militants organize and carry out suicide bombings and other acts of terror against Israeli civilians, as they did once again on 1 November, killing three people in Tel Aviv and wounding many more in an act of terror. Palestinian militants also fired Qassam rockets and mortar shells against cities inside Israel as well as against Israeli targets in the occupied Palestinian territory. Sadly, children are among the victims — as was the case in late June, when a 4-year-old died in a Qassam rocket attack against Sderot, or in late September, when a 2-year-old and a 4-year-old were killed by yet another Qassam rocket fired on the city. As we have stated here month after month — and I say it again — it is the Palestinian Authority's obligation under the road map and under international law to prevent all such attacks, to do its utmost to end the violence and to bring those implicated in terrorist acts to justice. Nothing can justify terror.

Israel has maintained the illegal practice of targeted assassinations, including in densely populated areas, where there is a high risk of so-called collateral damage. In yet another such extra-judicial killing, Israel assassinated a senior Hamas leader and his deputy in the Gaza Strip on 21 October. Israel must halt its resort to such targeted assassinations. Israel's military operations and incursions in the occupied Palestinian territory also raise the spectre of the disproportionate use of force and collective punishment through the destruction of civilian property and infrastructure.

Disturbingly, there is often a high death toll of civilians, especially children. On 24 and 25 October, Israel conducted a military operation in Khan Younis that left 16 Palestinians dead, among them an 11-year-old boy. On 28 October, a 9-year-old girl was hit by gunfire on her way to school in Khan Younis. On 30 October, a 12-year-old boy was shot dead in a refugee camp in the West Bank town of Jenin, where Israeli troops operated for several days from 27 October onwards.

Israel is obligated under international law and as the occupying power to protect Palestinian civilians, especially children, and to safeguard civilian property. Israel has the right to self-defence, but it must be exercised in strict adherence to international law.

The violence and terror, and the lack of mutual confidence, have reinforced the belief on both sides that they are struggling for their very survival and existence. In many ways, the opponents of peace have been defeating all those of us who desire and believe in peace. It is now time to wrest control from them and to take charge.

The need to act could not be any clearer. The Palestinian economy remains on the verge of collapse. Palestinian living conditions have declined dramatically. Already, by the end of 2001, they were worse than they had been at any time since 1967. We thought then that it could not get worse, but it has. The situation, which the World Bank earlier this year called one of the worst recessions in modern history, is threatening to take on disastrous proportions. Poverty, which is widespread, continues to increase, as does unemployment. Revenues of the Palestinian Authority continue to be far below expenditure levels. The Palestinian Authority is the primary employer of the Palestinian labour force, with a large proportion of the wider population crucially dependent on wages paid by the Authority. Continuing and expanded donor assistance will be essential to keep the Palestinian Authority afloat. Support is required urgently, especially at this difficult time in the Palestinian territory.

The Palestinian Authority remains under a great deal of pressure. However, I have been encouraged by recent developments. Compared to earlier this year, when I told the Council, in my July briefing, that the paralysis of the Palestinian Authority had become abundantly clear and that the deterioration of law and order in Palestinian areas was steadily worsening, the situation has by and large remained calm and controlled since President Arafat's departure for medical treatment in Paris and his subsequent passing.

However, the potential remains for a complete breakdown of law and order, in addition to a collapse of the fragile economy and the disintegration of the institutions of Palestinian self-rule. The exchange of fire between masked Palestinian gunmen and Abu Mazen's bodyguards, which resulted in two deaths yesterday, was a sad reminder of how fragile the situation is.

This underlines the need for immediate and sustained help. Donors should provide financial support to the Palestinian Authority. Israel should also

play its part. Closure, now fully re-imposed on the entire Palestinian territory, is the primary reason behind the economic and humanitarian crisis in the territory and therefore also an important cause of political instability.

In light of this, the ability of United Nations agencies and the international community to deliver vital humanitarian assistance and developmental programmes is now as crucial as ever. Unfortunately, access and the delivery of urgently needed humanitarian aid, particularly in Gaza, has become increasingly difficult in recent months, with serious consequences. Some positive steps to alleviate the situation have been taken recently, but they fall short of our expectations. More needs to be done.

Despite the difficult situation in the Palestinian areas, and in spite of the violence and terror, and the economic, humanitarian and political crisis, we know that it is possible to alter the reality prevailing in the Middle East. A full settlement of the conflict would contribute significantly to enhancing peace and stability in other parts of the region and, indeed, throughout the world at large. Despite the many, many difficulties, the parties are much closer to reaching that goal than our current perception would lead us to believe.

Among both Israelis and Palestinians, support for reconciliation, peace and coexistence has remained persistently high over the past decade. Indeed, what could be labelled a cultural revolution has taken place in both the Israeli and the Palestinian streets in the past 10 years. I remember very well how controversial it was only a few years ago to speak, in Israel, of a State of Palestine. As a member of the Knesset put it to me:

> "A few years ago, muttering the words 'State of Palestine' would have you thrown out of nearly every office here in the Knesset. Now you will hardly see anyone bat an eyelid."

I also remember well how unpopular it was to speak to Israelis of the 1967 borders, and it was almost inconceivable for a long time to propose the evacuation of Israeli settlements. Today, the Israeli Prime Minister has embraced the vision of ending the occupation that began in 1967, and he is the first-ever Israeli leader to initiate a large-scale uprooting of settlements in Gaza and parts of the West Bank. The political significance of breaking down those longstanding taboos in Israel should not be underestimated.

According to public opinion polls, in 1993 only a third of the Israeli public favoured the establishment of a Palestinian State. The support among Israelis for a Palestinian State grew steadily during the years of the Oslo process, reaching 50 per cent in 1997 and 56 per cent in 1999. Even the eruption of the second intifada in September 2000 did not reverse the trend. Though public support for a Palestinian State fell to 49 per cent in 2002, the presentation of the Quartet's road map in 2003 led an unprecedented 59 per cent of Israelis to favour the establishment of a Palestinian State. Similarly, a large percentage of Israelis have remained unwaveringly supportive of negotiations as a means to settle the conflict, regardless of the continuing violence. In September 2004, well more than two-thirds of Israelis supported peace negotiations and only 27.1 per cent were opposed to them. I would call those changes in public perception in Israel nothing less than a cultural revolution — a fundamental, radical and massive change of public attitudes.

On the Palestinian side, similar radical changes have occurred. In September 1993, after nearly six years of the first intifada, Palestinians had high expectations, reflected in the support of 65 per cent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for the Oslo process. An equal percentage of Palestinians anticipated the peace process to improve economic conditions in the occupied territory. Despite uncertainty and disappointment of the initial expectations during 1994, which saw support for violence among the Palestinian public rise to 57 per cent, the parallel support for the peace process never fell below 60 per cent between 1996 and 1999. By September 1999, support for the peace process stood at 75 per cent and has had majority support even over the last four years.

Those findings confirm that — although it might be difficult to see in the current conditions — much progress has been made in the years since 1993. Some 12 years ago in Oslo, we began an experiment to bring the two peoples together so they could find ways to build a common future. And much of that common future has been outlined and defined, even though we now seem far removed from completing the picture.

Israelis, Palestinians and the international community worked closely together for most of the

years of the peace process. We all collaborated closely in the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994 and together saw the growth of significant Palestinian institutions — not only those of the Palestinian Authority, but also those of Palestinian civic society and those of Israeli-Palestinian cooperation. And while some of the Palestinian institutions were flawed by mismanagement and lack of transparency, some were able to deliver essential services to Palestinians and some began to carve out an independent political space for Palestinian development.

The progress was real and undeniable. Much remained to be achieved — and obviously still does — but much was achieved, much more than we often realize now that so much has been destroyed.

One of the strongest and most persistent criticisms of the Oslo process is that it did not define the end goal; it did not define where we would be at the end of the process. That, it is often argued — with some justification — left the process vulnerable to interruptions, to misinterpretation and to failures of vision along the road. True, every suicide bombing that hit an Israeli city in 1994, in 1995 and in the years after that; the closure regime restricting Palestinian movement in the West Bank and Gaza and curtailing Palestinian employment in Israel; and the continuous and unimpeded growth of Israeli settlements all contributed to derailing the vulnerable process further and further. And so the momentum was gradually lost.

But the criticism of the Oslo process for its gradualist approach and for deferring decisions on the most difficult issues until later is desktop philosophizing. There was no other way back then but to proceed cautiously and gradually. Nowadays, we tend to overlook the progress that was actually made. Today, the international community has, through the road map, which builds on the earlier agreements, a clear and shared vision of how to end the occupation that began in 1967. We have a clear vision to settle the conflict through the realization of the two-State vision and the coexistence, side by side, of Israel and an independent, sovereign, democratic, viable and contiguous Palestine in peace and security. In 1993, that vision was blurry at best. At the time, it was impossible to define end goals that would have come close to satisfying the concerns of both peoples. Had we sought to start at the end, we would not have started at all.

At the time, gradualism, the step-by-step approach, was a choice of necessity. And the tactic of gradualism was successful, up to 1999. It is perhaps the greatest achievement of the Oslo process that it changed fundamentals, perceptions, attitudes and ideologies on both sides. Over the years, support for the peace process grew steadily on both sides as both peoples saw an alternative to confrontation and the possibility of a shared future. The now more than 10-year-old peace process initiated the fundamental change of attitudes, which, again, has made possible not only a definition of the end goal, but also a rallying of majority popular support for it on both sides.

In 2000, 70 per cent of Israelis expressed their support for the Oslo process, whilst nearly 60 per cent of Palestinians continued supporting the Oslo formula. As economic and social conditions in the West Bank and Gaza radically improved, together with the levels of optimism, levels of violence showed a steady decline. For example, whilst the number of Israelis killed in suicide attacks averaged 40 to 50 a year in the three years immediately following the Oslo agreement, 1997 saw that number drop to 24, and in 1998 and 1999 there were no Israelis killed by such attacks.

Continuous improvement of economic and social conditions in both Israel and the West Bank and Gaza accompanied and provided the foundations for that progress and optimism. The Israeli economy boomed, with new peaks in foreign direct investment year after year, with a fundamental shift from isolation to an economy deeply integrated into world markets — a shift that was made possible only by the peace process, as some argue. Though economic growth started slowing after 1996, it picked up again from 1999 on, with very strong growth during the first nine months of 2000 that contributed to an overall growth rate of 7.5 per cent that year. The Palestinian economy, initially suffering from the creation of new boundaries between areas under self-government and those still under Israeli occupation, likewise witnessed unprecedented growth. By 1996 — and from then on for a period of three years — sustained growth characterized the Palestinian economy. Poverty declined from about 50 per cent to 21 per cent by September 2000. Unemployment fell from about 30 per cent in 1997 to 13.3 per cent in 1999. Growth in real incomes averaged around 9 per cent from 1997 to 1999. The Palestinian Authority's fiscal vitality improved significantly to

achieve a small surplus in 1999, no longer necessitating external budgetary support.

But by that time, trust between Israelis and Palestinians was faltering and with it, the economic, social and political progress came to a halt. We are all too familiar with the economic and humanitarian crisis that emerged in the Palestinian territory. But even the much more advanced Israeli economy slid into deep crisis and has not yet recovered from it. Indeed, it is doubtful that a full recovery is possible under conditions of continued conflict.

As trust began to falter, dialogue began to stall. The development of Palestinian institutions to support the trust, the dialogue and the economic progress began to reverse. After September 2000, it was the use of force and terror that truly shattered the remaining confidence of those Israelis and Palestinians who believed in the will of the other to make real progress towards a common future. With that, much of our hope evaporated.

Israel's resort to force, extrajudicial killings, frequent military operations and incursions, the temporary reoccupation of areas under Palestinian self-rule, house demolitions, closures, movement restrictions, the continued establishment of outposts and expansion of settlements, construction of Israel's barrier, and the confinement of the Palestinian President to his compound for more than two years — all those elements contributed to convince Palestinians that Israel did not truly believe in peace and did not really want peace.

The resort to violence and terror perpetrated indiscriminately against civilians; failure to rein in the terror; incitement and the continued commitment of some to eradicate the State of Israel and liberate all of historic Palestine; failure to institute reform and adopt appropriate standards of governance, transparency and accountability: those factors led Israelis to believe that the Palestinians were not ready for peace and were not willing to share peaceful coexistence.

Neither side felt it had a partner for peace.

Israeli soldier and politician Moshe Dayan once said, "If you want to make peace, you don't talk to your friends; you talk to your enemies". More than four years of violence, deterioration and crisis have taken their toll. If the past four years have taught us anything, it is that terror, morally reprehensible as it is, does not bring a leader and a people closer to the attainment of their goals. It moves them further away from the fulfilment of their aspirations. A military solution to the conflict does not exist. Sooner or later, a new beginning will have to be made: a beginning that leaves behind violence and terror and embraces peaceful means. The demise of the Oslo process is not irrevocable. The principles underlying it remain valid.

I believe very firmly in those principles. Let us, for a moment, consider three fundamental alternatives of how to conceptualize peace in the Middle East. These are the one-State solution, the multiple-State solution — where the rest of historic Palestine is split and handed to neighbouring States — and the two-State solution. Both the one-State solution and the multiple-State solution can lead nowhere but to perpetual conflict in the region. They fail to satisfy the essential aspirations of either one of the two parties. A one-State solution might accommodate many fundamental Palestinian desires, but it fails to meet the essential requirement of Israelis to maintain their self-determination and sovereignty. A multiple-State solution, on the other hand, might meet many basic ambitions of Israelis, but it would fail to satisfy the core aspiration of the Palestinian people, namely, self-determination and sovereignty.

Only the two-State solution can offer us a viable way out of the conflict. The international community has long agreed that only a settlement of the conflict that offers both Israelis and Palestinians the satisfaction of their fundamental desire for self-determination, independence and security within agreed-upon and internationally recognized borders can achieve sustainable and enduring peace in the Middle East. Such lasting peace will only be possible if ultimately the occupation that began in 1967 ends and leads to the coexistence of two States, Israel and Palestine, side by side in peace and security. That goal can only be reached over the negotiating table and in full cooperation with the international community and the Quartet, and not through acts of terror, violence or subjugation. That is the vision that was embraced by United States President George W. Bush in his 24 June 2002 speech, that was promulgated in the Arab peace initiative of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah as adopted by the Arab Summit in Beirut, and that the Security Council endorsed in resolution 1397 (2002). That vision remains valid as our common goal.

Allow me to elaborate further. The basic principles that underlay the Oslo process remain valid and alive today. They are: the fundamental principle of land for peace, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); the end of occupation; rejection of violence and terrorism; the need for security for both parties; a fair and agreed-upon solution to the plight of refugees; and Israel's legitimate right to self-defence and to exist in security. Those principles guide the vision shared by the Council, President Bush and the Arab League, and inform and steer the key instrument we have developed and worked to implement over the past year — the road map — which was presented to Israelis and Palestinians in 2003 and was endorsed by the Council in resolution 1515 (2003).

Israel must be provided with full recognition and with real and permanent guarantees of its own security, in the form of freedom from attack and from the threat of attack. The Palestinians must be provided with real and permanent independence, in the form of a viable and secure Palestinian State established on lands occupied by Israel during the 1967 war and with economic control over its own borders. As part of the process leading to those goals, it is necessary, as the road map emphasizes, to remove Israeli settlements, reform Palestinian institutions and restore the Palestinian economy and infrastructure.

While the principles remain unchanged, the mechanics for realizing them in practice are now very different from the early days of the Oslo process. Most, if not all, agree that we must now start at the end. We require consensus about where the conflict must end. That must be agreed up front, before anything else can be done. Having agreed on the end state, we can implement its elements in an orderly sequence, but we must know where we are going. In that context, it is of great importance that we clearly define our end goal beyond the vision that we already have, while we continue to walk the road we have mapped out ahead of us.

Secondly, far from the principle of internationally facilitated bilateralism that characterized the Oslo process, at least in its early years, the principles for an end of conflict can only be introduced by the international community, as is done through the road map. The details will have to be negotiated and implemented by the parties, but we can help them and outline the end of the road that we have mapped out for them.

Thirdly, the international community must guarantee any and all agreements, and those guarantees must be firm and real. Israel must know that if it reaches final agreement, the agreement is truly final and there will be no more conflict or even the threat of conflict — no more claims and no more rejection. The Palestinians must know that provisional steps to reach an agreement will actually get there, that their gains will not be reversed and that they can begin to plan for, and count on, their own future.

There has been much talk about the demise of the road map and about the incapacity of the Quartet in the face of the continuing economic and political crisis. By contrast, I believe that the Quartet retains its validity and relevance thanks to its unique combination of legitimacy, political strength and financial and economic power represented by the Russian Federation, the European Union, the United States and the United Nations. Through consensus, it will be the most efficient and operational tool of the international community, in the best interest of the parties and of peace. The road map, as the plan accepted by both parties to find a way out of the current violence, remains equally valid. In fact, the twin mechanisms of the road map and the Quartet are now more important than ever. The implementation of the road map remains our primary goal at this stage.

As we have repeatedly stated, the implementation of Prime Minister Sharon's withdrawal initiative and the evacuation of settlements in the Gaza Strip and the northern West Bank offer an opportunity to revive the peace process, and, indeed, to move rapidly towards the realization of the principles I just talked about. For that to happen, as we have long maintained, the Israeli redeployment needs to be coordinated with the Palestinian Authority and the Quartet; be full and complete and lead to the end of the occupation of Gaza; be accompanied by similar steps in the West Bank; and be fully consistent with the road map. That is not just possible; it is a realistic expectation.

In his speech preceding the historic Knesset vote on his initiative, Prime Minister Sharon stated clearly and unequivocally that he supported the end of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory and "the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel". He also reiterated clearly that he remained

"willing to make painful compromises in order to put an end to this ongoing and malignant conflict between those who struggle over this land" and to do the "utmost in order to bring peace".

Prime Minister Sharon's statements, as well as the Knesset vote, make clear that this is a unique opportunity for the international community to engage actively in order to revive the peace process. In many ways, Mr. Sharon's initiative aims to go further than earlier Israeli Prime Ministers dared to propose. It represents nothing less than a programmatic continuation of the Oslo process, which saw a number of phases and stages of Israeli redeployment. In this sense, the implementation of Israeli disengagement is nothing but a logical step to be taken along the road towards peace. It has the potential to drive the process forward significantly, if the international community and the Palestinians are actively involved and if they contribute to it.

Another logical next step is the resolution of the wider Arab-Israeli conflict on the regional level in a comprehensive manner, as envisaged in the Arab peace initiative of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.

On the regional level too, much more has been achieved than we realize nowadays. In an important step, Israeli troops withdrew from south Lebanon in May 2000. In June that year, the Secretary-General reported that Israel had withdrawn its forces from all Lebanese territory in accordance with resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978). The Council endorsed this conclusion in the statement by its President on 18 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21). The process leading up to and following the Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon, the drawing by the United Nations of the so-called Blue Line — the line of withdrawal separating the State of Israel and the Lebanese Republic — and the confirmation of the complete nature of the Israeli withdrawal in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions set an important precedent for the future.

Much as on the level of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, conditions remain far from perfect. A generally tense, but relatively calm situation has prevailed along the Blue Line, with worrying exceptions to this in the form of violations from both sides of the line. Israel has carried out frequent overflights violating Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity. On numerous occasions, we have called upon the Israeli authorities to cease these overflights. From the Lebanese side of the Blue Line, violations have been carried out by Hizbullah and other armed elements, posing mortal risk and, at times, causing deaths and injuries. Many of these attacks have taken place in the Shab'a farms area, which the Government of Lebanon, in contrast to the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council, continues to insist are Lebanese territory.

More recently, there have been other violations of the Blue Line. On 28 October, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) reported that Palestinian armed elements based in Lebanon launched a rocket across the Blue Line into Israeli territory, which exploded in the vicinity of Shlomi. Today, there have been reports of a similar incident, which UNIFIL is investigating at present. In a new and worrying development, on 7 November, an unmanned aerial vehicle was launched from the Lebanese side of the Blue Line and into Israeli airspace. The unmanned aerial vehicle was reported to have flown over Israeli territory before re-entering southern Lebanon and landing in the general area of Naqoura. We have repeatedly called on the Government of Lebanon to exert its authority over all its territory, in full consistence with relevant Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 1310 (2000) and 1559 (2004).

On the Syrian-Israeli track, the parties repeatedly touched upon peace over the past 10 years. President Assad has repeatedly stretched out a hand towards Israel, inviting it to peace talks. Such talks could significantly contribute to stability and to an improved atmosphere in the region. However, negotiations between Israel and Syria remain suspended. The interests, however, remain unchanged. For the realization of our shared objective, the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, it is of great importance that the parties resume their negotiations. With our help, Israelis and Syrians need to act to return to the negotiation table, so as to fully implement resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) to realize peace in the region.

The Council is the primary reference point for peace in the Middle East. Its decisions set the basic parameters for peace and the process towards achieving it in the region. I have referred to many of the Council's resolutions in my briefing today. Resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397 (2002)

outline the fundamental principles for peace in the Middle East, which I spoke about earlier: the principle of land for peace, the principle of ending the occupation and the principle of a two-State vision to realize peace in the region. Resolution 1515 (2003) outlines the road that we jointly mapped out and continue to follow in our pursuit of peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Those resolutions provide the foundations for peace in the Middle East. The Council's continued engagement will have to guide any revitalization of the peace process in the region. Indeed, there is no future for peace in the Middle East without this Council, and there cannot be.

In my briefing today, I have sought to shed a different light on the reality in the Middle East. I do not wish to pretend that the reality prevailing in the Middle East is not grim. I do wish to emphasize today that hope remains and opportunity remains.

Today's briefing is also the last I am giving in my capacity as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the region. I would not like to end it without thanking all the members of this Council for the hospitality they have extended and for their unfaltering support during my years of service. It has always been a pleasure, and indeed an honour, to be the Council's guest.

At long last, I would also like to use this occasion to thank my staff and all the United Nations organizations in the region for their dedication and hard work in the name of peace, reconciliation and development in the Middle East. I would also like to express my gratitude and appreciation for the persistent support and cooperation of the Governments of my mission area — Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon — as well as of the representatives of the Palestinian people. I would like to thank and express my deep appreciation for our colleagues of the other Quartet members and the wider international community, which has supported and assisted us in words and deeds and in pecuniary terms.

In the spirit of the briefing I have delivered today, a briefing that emphasizes opportunity in difficult times rather than focusing only on deterioration and crisis, allow me to end on a quotation taken from Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

> "Tho' much is taken, much abides; and tho'
> We are not now that strength which in the old days
> Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;
> One equal temper of heroic hearts,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

May our strength in will remain, to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield the peace in the Middle East.

The President: I thank Mr. Roed-Larsen for his comprehensive briefing. I would like to congratulate him on his tenure as envoy. He has been engaged on the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations for more than a decade, and his service and dedication are recognized by all concerned.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussions on the subject.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5078

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5078th meeting

Monday, 15 November 2004, 6.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-60505 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djangoné-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/892, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Chile, France, Germany, Romania, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. I wish to draw the attention of members to document S/2004/895, containing the text of a letter dated 10 November 2004 from the representative of the Gambia addressed to the President of the Security Council, and to document S/2004/896, containing the text of a letter dated 9 November 2004 from the representative of Nigeria addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2004/892) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1572 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We are deeply concerned at the current situation in Côte d'Ivoire. We condemn the air raid conducted against the French peacekeepers. We are also concerned about the civilian casualties caused by this conflict. We call upon the various parties to exercise restraint so as to avoid further escalating the crisis.

China has always supported the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. We have always maintained that the crisis in that country should be resolved by political means. We hope that the situation in Côte d'Ivoire will be stabilized as soon as possible so that the peace process can be put back on the right track. We support the mediation efforts of the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States and the Secretary-General. In particular, we appreciate the efforts of President Mbeki of South Africa. We sincerely hope that those mediation efforts will yield positive results at an early date.

In the light of the current serious situation in Côte d'Ivoire, China, like other members of the Security Council, favours further Council action. At the same time, we believe that the objective of such action should be to encourage the various parties to comply with the ceasefire and to resume the peace process. On the basis of that principle, and taking into account the views of the countries members of the African Union, we voted in favour of the resolution.

The early achievement of peace and reconciliation will advance the fundamental interests of the people of Côte d'Ivoire and will help to stabilize the region. We urge the various parties in Côte d'Ivoire to cooperate with the mediation efforts of the

international community — particularly those of the African Union — and to implement the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and the Accra III Agreement as soon as possible. We hope that the resolution adopted by the Security Council today will assist in the attainment of those objectives.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): The resolution just adopted unanimously by the Security Council pursues an essential objective — to promote the political situation that the Council has endorsed and has always supported: implementation by all the Ivorian parties of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and compliance with all the commitments made at Accra in July.

The Security Council has never ceased to reiterate that there is no military solution to the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. There is only a political solution: the one set out at Linas-Marcoussis and specified at Accra. For months now, we have noted and deplored the impasse in the situation owing to the refusal by all the Ivorian parties to honour their own commitments. The basic legal text defined at Linas-Marcoussis has not been adopted; the conditions for eligibility for the presidency of the Republic have not been revised; the disarmament process has not been undertaken. Those impasses are unacceptable.

I must recall that the Council, when it visited Abidjan in June, recalled solemnly and with great firmness the statements made in April and May (S/PRST/2004/412 and S/PRST/2004/417). We should act today, when Côte d'Ivoire is experiencing the situation that know well, by adopting an immediate arms embargo and by deciding on a mechanism for individual sanctions if the commitments made by the parties have not been honoured by 15 December.

By adopting this resolution, the Council is demonstrating today that it intends to support the initiatives of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and of the African Union by putting all the weight of the international community behind the African initiatives.

Re-launching this national reconciliation process is everyone's objective. In Côte d'Ivoire, France is committed to helping all Ivorians. We are convinced that the country must move forward towards the elections in October 2005. That presupposes that all the conditions set at Linas-Marcoussis will be met. We are all working to that end.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Today, we are dealing with the conflict prevailing in one of the key countries of our continent: Côte d'Ivoire, a country described in the past as a symbol of prosperity and stability in Africa and an important Member of the United Nations. We therefore have the moral obligation to contribute to its stability at a moment when the tension among the parties has reached alarming proportions.

We very much appreciate the constant efforts that the Secretary-General, now present here, has made to bring the parties to the table of dialogue.

We deplore the loss of life that has taken place since the start of this conflict. My delegation is of the view that, in such a tense and fragile environment, the Security Council should opt for a kind of pressure that will not radicalize the position of one or another party but that will instead continue to stimulate dialogue. The main concern at this moment is to find the appropriate way to calm the tension and to bring the parties back to the process of the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis and Accra III Agreements. That should be the main — indeed, the only — objective of the resolution we have just adopted.

My delegation joined the consensus, and we trust that the resolution will represent a step forward in the direction of peace and that it will encourage the parties to resume a frank dialogue, as we in Africa know how to do.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5079

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5079th meeting

Tuesday, 16 November 2004, 9.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Patterson	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Benmehidi
	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	Chile	Mr. Andereya
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Poirier
	Germany	Mr. von Ungern-Sternberg
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Philippines	Ms. Cruz
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sitnikov
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Cutler

Agenda

The situation in Timor-Leste

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2004/888)

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04-60935 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 9.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor-Leste

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2004/888)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Timor-Leste, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/888, which contains the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2004/901, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1573 (2004).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 9.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5080

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5080th meeting

Thursday, 18 November 2004, 10 a.m.

Nairobi

President:	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Ms. Müller
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

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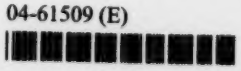
04-61509 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the decision taken on 26 October 2004 by resolution 1569 (2004).

At the outset, let me say what I think should be obvious: that this is a highly unusual meeting of the Security Council. Since 1952, when the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole were housed in New York, the Council has met outside of New York City only three times. This is a demonstration of the very strong interest of the Security Council in the situation in the Sudan and its commitment to the future of that country, as well as an expression by the Council of the fact that we are there not only today but on into the future to do what we can to ensure that the Sudan has a strong and viable future.

On behalf of the members of the Council, I am pleased to acknowledge the presence of His Excellency The Honourable Mwai Kibaki, President of the Republic of Kenya, where the Security Council is meeting. I wish to thank his Government for the generous support and assistance in making our meetings a success.

I now have the honour to give the floor to President Kibaki.

President Kibaki: I should like at the outset to welcome all of you to Nairobi. You are welcome; please make yourselves at home, and, perhaps most importantly, although we assume that you are very busy people, do not rush home after this meeting. Take a little time at least to see a little bit of Kenya and to see a little bit outside of Nairobi. You will be very welcome and warmly received in those places. We hope that you will stay.

Secondly, it is very important for this very important institution to meet in a Member country. You chose to meet here in Nairobi, which is suitable because we have a United Nations presence here — the Secretariat and so on — and for that reason we very warmly welcome you.

Thirdly, I hope that the meeting will be successful. I hope also that you will be able to complete work on the agenda you have set yourselves, and that we will arrive at positive conclusions, because none of the problems we face, issues which affect Member countries, is insurmountable.

We in this country want to join in the consideration of the matters before the Council. Allow me, therefore, to make a brief statement.

I warmly welcome the Security Council to Kenya for this meeting of the Council, which is dedicated to questions of peace and security in the Sudan and in Somalia. The issues the Council is going to discuss are of crucial significance to Kenya and to the region. I am particularly encouraged that the Council has chosen to meet here in Nairobi.

That decision, by itself, has sent out strong signals as to the importance that the Council attaches to peace and security in the Horn of Africa. The conflicts in the Sudan and Somalia have adversely affected Kenya, which has hosted many refugees from the two countries. This has been compounded by the problem of the illegal movement of illicit firearms, which has heightened insecurity in our towns and cities, as well as in the countryside.

Over the last decade, the Government has been involved in the peace processes both for the Sudan and for Somalia. It has been a rugged road for all of us, but today we are full of hope. For the Sudan, in spite of the sad situation in the Darfur region, the Naivasha peace process is on course, and we remain hopeful that, within the coming months, the final peace agreement will be signed here in Kenya. We appeal to the international community not to turn their backs on the people of the Sudan at this crucial time. The international community should remain seized of the process to the very end. That is the only way to demonstrate our commitment to the realization of enduring peace for the people of the Sudan.

With regard to Somalia, the Transitional Federal Government is now in place. Members of the Somali Parliament have been elected, and the President was sworn in on 14 October 2004. A Prime Minister has also been appointed.

The road to lasting peace in Somalia has been mapped out, but we have not reached our

destination — the establishment of a fully functional government in Somalia. What Kenya expects today from the Security Council is for it to collectively rally behind the Somali Government and help it to relocate to Somalia.

The presence of the Somali Government in Mogadishu will strengthen and consolidate the reconciliation process that is still going on in that country. I appeal to the international community to continue to work tirelessly to assist the people of Somalia achieve lasting peace. The international community should continue to work closely with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union to ensure that the peace negotiations in Naivasha are sustained. In the case of Somalia, the support of the international community is needed now more than ever before.

The newly elected Somali Government requires both diplomatic and material support to start the process of peace-building and reconstruction in that country.

It must be appreciated that the establishment of a Government in Somalia is not only good for the people of Somalia, but also good for us in the region and for the entire world. There is no denying that, without a central authority, Somalia poses a risk to its neighbours. There is no way of monitoring the movement of the illicit arms that have infiltrated our borders and are the cause of the rise in the incidence of violent crimes in our cities.

More important, however, Somalia, without a Government, is likely to be a haven for dangerous criminals with terrorist intentions. It is in the interest of global peace that the new Somali Government be helped to restore law and order in that country. Since it is within the Council's means, we hope that Somalia will be assisted to move quickly to peace.

The President: It is always an honour to welcome the Secretary-General to the Security Council, and especially to this extraordinary meeting in Nairobi. I now give him the floor.

The Secretary-General: Allow me to start by thanking the Council's wise President, Mr. Danforth, for bringing us here to Nairobi. It was his initiative that brought us here.

It is fitting that the Council should have taken the rare and highly symbolic step of meeting here in Africa. The Council has come to Nairobi primarily to discuss the situation in Africa's largest country, the Sudan, which, unhappily, is also one of the countries most affected by conflict. The Sudan is a country with very deep-rooted and complex divisions. In large parts of the Sudan, particularly in the south, the people have lived for decades in fear, hunger and misery, both natural and man-made.

Now, at last, the Naivasha peace process, so skilfully and patiently led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), offers real hope: real hope of an escape from that long nightmare and a chance to transform the Sudan's political landscape and system of governance. The Sudan's people have waited far too long for such a transformation. It is high time to conclude the negotiations between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A) and start implementing what has been agreed.

The effects of delay are felt not only in the south, but elsewhere too, as conflict spreads to more parts of the country. The devastating conflict in Darfur is glaring evidence of this. That is why the time for decision is now. There is no time to waste. The speedy conclusion of the north-south talks would not only help curb the further spread of conflict to other parts of the country; it would also serve as a basis and a catalyst for the resolution of existing conflicts.

Indeed, as I have indicated to the Council on earlier occasions, the Government of the Sudan and the SPLM/A have already agreed to use the relevant principles of the Machakos Protocol as a basis for resolving conflicts in other regions, including Darfur. Those principles were the basis for settling the conflicts in the Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile and Abyei.

Another reason to conclude the Naivasha process speedily is that this would lead to the formation of a new coalition Government in Khartoum with a new army, one that would include the SPLM. I cannot help feeling that the formation of a north-south Government in the Sudan would add weight and impetus to the search for a settlement in Darfur and elsewhere and that it would have an important confidence-building effect.

That is why, today, I re-emphasize to the members of the Council the importance of an early conclusion of the Naivasha process. I am confident that

the Council will, in its collective and private discussions with Vice-President Ali Othman Taha and Mr. John Garang, as well as in the draft resolution that it will be adopting on the Sudan, encourage the parties to sign a comprehensive peace agreement before the end of the year. I particularly welcome the Council's promise of full support for the implementation of such an agreement and its offer of incentives to encourage the parties to do what is right for their people and the country.

Both the Government and the SPLM should be urged to work together to resolve other conflicts besetting the Sudan immediately after signing their agreement, as indeed they should, as members of the new Sudan Government. This kind of approach is needed because there is a general issue of governance in the Sudan. It is not just a problem of north and south, Darfur or Beja. Such conflicts cannot be dealt with in a piecemeal way. A comprehensive approach is required. Naivasha offers a good basis on which to build. The Sudanese from around the country and across the spectrum, including political parties, civil society and exiles, are going to have to come together to discuss the future of the Sudan and how the country should be governed.

While it is proper that the Council should place its primary focus, in these particular meetings, on the conclusion of the north-south talks, the conflict in Darfur also demands its attention. The terrible situation in Darfur has been brought about mainly by deliberate acts of violence against civilians, including widespread killing and rape. Because of the magnitude and intensity of the human suffering in that region, the conflict remains a burning concern. The Council's draft resolution rightly reflects that concern.

It is encouraging that, in Abuja, the parties to the Darfur conflict have signed protocols on the humanitarian situation and on security. They must be urged to abide strictly by those agreements. The parties should also be pressed to maintain the momentum towards reaching agreement on political and other outstanding issues. The Council should send an urgent message to that effect to both the Government and the rebel parties, and to all States that have particular influence on them.

Meanwhile, I regret to report that the security situation in Darfur continues to deteriorate, despite the ceasefire agreements signed earlier in N'Djamena and now reinforced in Abuja. Both the Government and its militias, as well as the rebel groups, have breached these agreements. This has made humanitarian work by the United Nations and our partners precarious and difficult, if not impossible. Many innocent civilians continue to suffer as a result. This cannot be allowed to continue. The strongest warning to all the parties that are causing this suffering is essential. We cannot allow impunity.

When crimes on such a scale are being committed, and when a sovereign State appears unable or unwilling to protect its own citizens, a grave responsibility falls on the international community, and specifically on the Security Council. So far, the Council has chosen to exercise that responsibility by demanding compliance with its mandatory resolutions, while giving its full support to the efforts of the African Union (AU) mediation and monitoring mission.

The African Union mission has begun to deploy and has already achieved some successes. It now needs to move rapidly into the areas of Darfur where people are most in danger; and for that, it urgently requires means of transport, as well as financial and logistical support. All Member States with the capacity to do so must give the maximum possible support, so that the AU force, including the essential police contingent, can deploy swiftly and mount an effective operation on the ground.

I have spoken of the need for a comprehensive approach. Only a comprehensive political solution for the Sudan as a whole offers any longer-term hope of stability in the country. It is therefore time to convince the Government and its future partner, the SPLM, to conclude the Naivasha process and quickly involve all Sudanese stakeholders — the Government and armed and non-armed opposition groups — in a national conference to discuss the future governance of the country. We — the United Nations, the African Union and the whole international community — should join our efforts to help plan and support that process. The United Nations, through my Special Representative and other technical staff, in partnership with members of the IGAD Partners Forum and the Troika, will continue to do everything we can to assist the IGAD mediation and the parties to bring about a quick and successful completion of the Naivasha negotiations.

For far too long, war has inflicted misery and untold human suffering on the Sudan, distorting the allocation of scarce resources, discouraging foreign aid and scaring away both Sudanese and foreign investors.

Peace can turn this situation around. Already, we in the United Nations are preparing a major, multidimensional operation to help build a lasting peace, and many donor countries have indicated their readiness to help the Sudanese realize a tangible peace dividend. But first, agreements must be finalized and signed. The engagement of the Council must impart a new sense of urgency to all the Sudanese parties.

By meeting here in the region, the Council has made an important gesture of solidarity and support for the peoples and institutions of the new Africa. It is good that the Council has chosen to work through African institutions, provided that members do not forget that the Council itself retains primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as laid down in the Charter. What is happening in the Sudan — and in other African countries on the Council's agenda, such as Côte d'Ivoire — is a grave challenge not only to Africa but to all humanity. The United Nations must be fully engaged in helping to meet it.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his very important statement.

I invite the First Vice-President of the Sudan, Mr. Ali Othman Taha, to take the floor.

Mr. Taha (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to begin by welcoming you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council, to Africa for these important extraordinary meetings. This is only the second time that such extraordinary meetings of the Council have been held in Africa. The first was at Addis Ababa, at a time when the Sudan held the presidency of the Security Council — perhaps that is a propitious sign. These meetings send an important message that reflects the interest of the international community, represented by the Council, in the peace process in the Sudan and in African issues in general.

There can be no doubt that the international community as a whole, in particular the African peoples, including the people of the Sudan, have been looking forward to this historic event, which we hope will bring a new era of peace and stability to Africa, and thence to the world, so that we can begin a new chapter of history that opens up horizons for prosperity and peace.

It also gives me great pleasure to extend to Council members the best wishes and greetings of the people of the Sudan. We recall the committed and sincere efforts that the United Nations has made so far by sending a Special Representative to the Sudan to oversee the peace process there. We greatly value the importance accorded by the Council and its members to the issues currently before it regarding the Sudan. We hope that the Council will play the role of a genuine partner in achieving peace and stability in the Sudan.

The Council must recognize all the genuine efforts that the Government of the Sudan has made so far in search of peace. We believe that peaceful negotiations are the only means to that end, and we have embarked on the path towards peace with full, national determination, with the support of our partners and brothers.

We have taken part in serious negotiations without any preconditions. We have agreed to discuss all the important issues through the mediation of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in proof of our good intentions and sincere willingness to achieve peace and national harmony. The Naivasha agreement on six peace protocols was a clear demonstration of our belief in the seriousness and validity of that process and we reiterate again today our full commitment to finalizing those negotiations as soon as possible in order to achieve comprehensive peace in the southern Sudan and throughout the country.

We have been negotiating for a long time, perhaps because there have been serious concerns among the partners and the brothers. However, the arduous process of negotiation has been successful and productive, enabling us, together with our brothers in the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), to reach finely-detailed agreements on all the various issues and to agree on means of implementation and guarantees leading to lasting peace. The extended process of negotiation has definitely been productive and fruitful and has acquired special importance because of our agreement with our SPLM brothers on the absolute necessity of implementing all that has been agreed for the transitional period.

We look forward to a genuine partnership with the international community in the implementation of those agreements. We believe that the pending issues can be resolved, particularly since they relate merely to procedural aspects of the implementation of the agreements concluded. I should like once again to reiterate our firm commitment to concluding the negotiations as soon as possible, and I am pleased to say that we have reached an understanding with our brothers in the SPLM and the IGAD secretariat, as reflected in the common memorandum of understanding to be signed in the presence of Council members and committed to by both parties for the conclusion of the negotiations within the agreed framework contained in the memorandum.

Since peace is an integral whole, the Government of the Sudan has not limited its efforts to reaching a peaceful settlement, but has complemented them by launching a serious and constructive dialogue with all political forces with a view to laying a solid foundation for peace. Here, I concur with the Secretary-General's statement that the peace agreement opens the door to conducting a national dialogue to form a popular, broad-based Government that includes other parties that were not party to the Naivasha negotiations. Such a dialogue would provide the basis for a broader popular consensus on the peace agreements to be reached.

On the other hand, the Government of the Sudan has conducted sincere negotiations; without preconditions, in N'Djamena, Addis Ababa and Abuja with those who have borne arms in Darfur. I reiterate our commitment to all agreements reached in Abuja. My only reservation concerns the Secretary-General's statement regarding the Government of the Sudan's violation of the agreements signed in Abuja. The fact is that violations have been recorded as having been committed by the other parties. We call for the implementation of a common mechanism with the United Nations to investigate such alleged violations and for the deployment of African Union observers.

We commend the efforts of all parties that have participated in and contributed to the efforts to reach the agreements in Naivasha and N'Djamena. We also salute IGAD and its partners, as well as the international community for its sincere efforts to date. We welcome the efforts of the African Union and of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in particular.

In the context of the situation in Darfur, our clear policy is based on addressing the humanitarian situation. Alongside the international community, we have come a long way in that regard and remain committed to improving the humanitarian situation there, in cooperation with the international community. The signing of the last security agreement in Abuja will enhance the joint efforts of the Sudanese Government and the international community to alleviate the impact of the disputes and conflicts on the civilian population.

The second important pillar of our efforts to solve the Darfur problem would be ending the fighting and all forms of hostility. We therefore reiterate yet again that the security agreement to be signed in Abuja is extremely important to us and we shall be fully committed to its implementation.

A third important point in addressing the Darfur problem is highlighted by our political dialogue with the armed groups, with the cooperation and support of the African Union, Chad and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. We are determined to conclude that political dialogue, with a view to reaching a comprehensive peace agreement in Darfur. We believe the important issues of a nation can be resolved only through peaceful negotiations, not through confrontation and hostility.

Our vision of a peaceful political resolution in Darfur — in particular in the case of the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile region — is based on the provisions of the Naivasha Agreements and on the establishment of a foundation for decentralized government within a federal framework that provides the citizens of Darfur and the other peoples of Sudan's governorates the ability to participate and to have additional authority in managing their own affairs. We also envision that a resolution of this matter would include an agreement on the sharing of national resources and wealth in a manner that provides every governorate, state and region in the Sudan with a proportionate share so that the aspirations of the people can be met.

With regard to development, I would like to inform the Security Council that the fourth pillar of our policy for dealing with the Darfur problem aims at normalizing the situation after a political agreement has been reached and at bringing about sustainable development in the region. The Government of the

Sudan has prepared a development plan to be implemented after the signing of a peace agreement on Darfur that will promote the Government's other current efforts. That development plan consists of two parts.

First, we would address the issue of providing urgent assistance to displaced persons in order to facilitate their return to their villages, as well as the return of refugees from neighbouring countries. That will require a disarmament programme that includes the rehabilitation of those currently bearing arms so that they may once again be integrated into civilian life. It will also require giving special attention to the rehabilitation of the areas destroyed during the fighting, particularly with regard to infrastructure, education and drinking water. We have prepared specific estimates of the costs of those urgent programmes and would be pleased to share those estimates with the international community so that a common effort to cover the costs can be deployed as soon as a peace agreement is signed.

The second part of that plan, which will cover a medium-term period of three years, is based on a policy of carrying out studies and projects to develop the agricultural and other income-generating sectors in the region, including animal husbandry and small- and medium-size industries. The plan will also focus on providing clean water for industry and for people in both cities and villages. Feasibility studies and estimates have been prepared for this three-year plan. Preliminary estimates indicate that we will need $1.8 billion to implement projects such as the ones I have described.

Once again, we are pleased to say that we look forward to the participation of the international community in planning, financing and implementing further studies. Improving services and attaining development will complement the political efforts being made to resolve this issue and help to promote peaceful coexistence and social harmony among the various groups in Darfur.

The Government of the Sudan, which has made great efforts to establish peace in the south of the country through the Naivasha Agreements, cannot be seen as willing to allow fighting to break out once again in other regions of the country. The war in Darfur is political in nature and was instigated by local groups with the support of foreign parties. Those foreign elements benefited from the historic tension and conflict among the various tribes living in Darfur. That situation was exacerbated by the severe drought that has afflicted that part of Africa.

The outbreak of the war in Darfur was supposed to be a hurdle to the peace agreements in Naivasha. We would like to stress again before the Council that the Government's political determination to solve all conflicts in the south and establish peace through the Naivasha Protocols will remain steadfast. We are equally committed to deploying the political efforts necessary to end the problems in Darfur.

The Government of the Sudan is determined to change the situation in our country and to establish peace and stability based on justice, political participation and cooperation with the international community, regionally and internationally. Once again, I would like to renew our sincere thanks to those who have participated and have contributed to the peace process, particularly the Government of Kenya through the sincere efforts of President Kibaki. We highly value their patience and cooperation during all those years of negotiation on the Naivasha Agreements, and we would like to reiterate before President Kibaki and the Council that the time has come to provide you with the gift of peace in the Sudan for its peoples and for the international community.

The President: I now give the floor to the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Aminu Bashir Wali, representing the current Chair of the African Union.

Mr. Wali (Nigeria): First of all, I wish to thank the President of Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki, for hosting the Security Council in Nairobi. I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. In the same vein, I would like to compliment Ambassador Sir Emyr Jones Parry of the United Kingdom for a successful presidency of the Council in October. We also express our appreciation to Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his initiatives and efforts at conflict prevention, resolution and peace-building in Africa.

We welcome the decision of the Security Council to hold this meeting in Nairobi. We recall that the last meeting of the Council in Africa was about 30 years ago, when it met in Addis Ababa, when its agenda was largely on decolonization.

The conflict situation in Africa continues to be disturbing because the promises and the hope of prosperity still remain unfulfilled when most African countries have attained political independence. A greater part of the continent is characterized by conflict, poverty, decaying infrastructure and the scourge of HIV/AIDS. In the face of these challenges, African leaders have embarked on serious efforts to find a lasting and sustainable solution to key problems of socio-economic development. In this regard, we welcome the efforts of the leaders of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in seeking peaceful solutions to the conflicts in the Sudan and Somalia.

We commend the United Nations and the international community for their response to the humanitarian situation in the Darfur region and urge that they remain engaged in the situation. I recall that one President — Olusegun Obasanjo, the current Chairman of the African Union — addressed the Security Council in September 2004 in New York on the state of the peace talks in Abuja between the Government of the Sudan, the Liberation Army/ Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement.

The parties have since reached an agreement on both security and humanitarian issues. For instance, they agreed to maintain the civilian character of internally displaced persons and reiterated the right of internally displaced persons and refugees to voluntarily return to their homes. They also agreed to protect the human rights of internally displaced persons and refugees. Finally, they agreed to ensure that all forces and individuals involved or reported to be involved in violations of rights of internally displaced persons, vulnerable groups and civilians would be impartially investigated and held accountable to the appropriate authorities.

We welcome Security Council resolution 1556 (2004), which condemns all acts of violence and violations of international humanitarian law by all the parties to the crisis. In particular, we welcome the call on the Sudanese Government to fulfil its commitment to disarm the Janjaweed militia and bring them and their associates to justice for any violation of human rights and international humanitarian law.

We call on the parties to comply with the request to disarm the Janjaweed and ensure that civilians are no longer attacked, and that those who attack them should be prosecuted. We support the recommendation that those who violate the ceasefire agreement and international humanitarian law, on both sides, should be subject to military or civilian prosecution.

In this regard, we welcome the fact that the Government of the Sudan has continued to fulfil its commitment under the joint communiqué regarding humanitarian access, which has made possible an increase in humanitarian operations serving internally displaced persons and refugees. This has enabled 40 international non-governmental organizations, the Red Cross mission and United Nations agencies to operate in Darfur.

The international humanitarian operation in Darfur is a significant testimony to the benefits of effective cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union. In this connection, we commend the efforts of the Security Council in building the necessary synergy for the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the prevention and resolution of conflicts in the continent and the subregions.

We urge the Security Council to further intensify its support for the various regional initiatives for the maintenance of peace and security in Africa. Nigeria reiterates its support for the commitment of the African Union to increase its mission in Darfur to 3,320 persons, including 2,341 military personnel, 450 observers and up to 815 civilian police. We welcome the African Union's expanded mandate, beyond the terms of the N'Djamena agreement, to include the monitoring and verification of the provision of security for returning internally displaced persons, of Government-controlled militias and of the protection of civilians.

The engagement of the Security Council and the international community in the peace process in the Sudan should be total and comprehensive. We are encouraged by the Secretary-General's report that the political process for addressing the north-south conflict in the Sudan has resumed and is making progress. We note that the parties were able to resolve most of the outstanding issues, including the agreement on the permanent ceasefire, the deployment of joint integrated units in eastern Sudan and collaboration in negotiations with other armed groups.

We urge the parties to resolve their differences on funding the armed forces of the Sudan, as well as the integration of other armed groups into the respective structures of the Sudan Armed Forces and the SPLA/M during the transition period.

We support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the outstanding issues should not be allowed to prevent the successful completion of the peace talks. We recognize that any delay in resolving them would adversely affect the United Nations pre-deployment arrangements in southern Sudan and other conflict areas.

In conclusion, we note that the Security Council has adopted many resolutions on the situation in the Sudan and has consolidated its special political mission in the area. We urge the parties to continue to cooperate with the Security Council and the international community to facilitate effective implementation of the resolutions. By so doing, we will succeed in ushering in an era of sustainable peace in the Sudan.

I pledge the continued support of Nigeria, and indeed of the African Union, for those efforts.

The President: I now invite Mr. John Garang, Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, to take the floor in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Garang (Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army): First and foremost, I would like to thank the Council wholeheartedly for having invited the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) to this significant and historic Security Council meeting on the Sudan, Somalia and other African affairs, so that we can share our perspective on the peace process and on the situation in our country in general. I understand that this is the fourth time in its history that the Security Council has met outside its New York Headquarters. We appreciate this significant gesture and concern.

Indeed, this is another momentous occasion in the history of our country. I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to the peaceful resolution of all conflicts in the Sudan. It is our hope that the meeting of this body in Nairobi will expedite the swift closure to the peace process in the Sudan of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) so that we can also reach a comprehensive peace agreement for the whole country.

The core of the peace agreement, in the form of six protocols, is already in place. The task that remains to finalize the agreement on a comprehensive ceasefire and the modalities for implementing what we have agreed. These will form annexes to the peace agreement. The parties — the Government of the Sudan and the SPLM/A — signed the six protocols with a view to implementing the agreement and with the primary aim of ending the war. Obviously, therefore, the two annexes that remain — on a comprehensive ceasefire and on implementation modalities — should not be stumbling blocks to closing the deal.

One makes agreements in order to implement them, and we made the agreement in order to end the war. I want to assure the Council that the SPLM/A is willing and prepared to work with the other party to move swiftly to complete and sign the framework comprehensive peace agreement in the shortest time possible. We in the SPLM/A have absolutely no reason to cause any delays. On the contrary, and in the interests of our country, we have every reason to expedite the process and to sign the final agreement today rather than tomorrow.

Under the ceasefire negotiations of the first annex, there are two outstanding issues, the cardinal one being the funding of the armed forces — both the SPLM/A and the Government army. According to section 1 (b) of the security arrangements protocol, which we have signed, it has been agreed that the two armed forces — the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLM/A — are to be "considered and treated equally as Sudan's National Armed Forces during the Interim Period". That entails funding from the national treasury in all their aspects the two armed forces and the joint integrated units that will be constituted from them. It was precisely for that reason that the SPLM/A settled for only 50 per cent of revenues from oil extracted from the southern Sudan and only 50 per cent of non-oil revenues collected by the central Government in the southern Sudan, so as to enable the national Government to retain sufficient financial resources to meet national obligations, including expenditure on the National Armed Forces.

The other party's position on this issue is both untenable and inconsistent with the meaning and the

spirit of the security arrangements framework agreement during the interim period, because it limits funding from national coffers to the Government army component of the National Armed Forces, completely ignoring the funding of the other component of the Sudan National Armed Forces — that is, the SPLM/A — leaving it to be funded by the government of the southern Sudan, which is a subnational-level government and therefore is not responsible for funding national institutions, including the SPLM/A. However, I believe this is an issue that we, the parties, with the assistance of the mediators and the international community, should be able to resolve, because obviously the SPLM/A must be funded during the interim period.

The second outstanding issue in the ceasefire agreement — although relatively less problematic than that of funding the armed forces — is the time frame for incorporating other armed groups into SAF or SPLM/A structures, depending on their individual choice, as stipulated in the security arrangements agreement signed by the parties in September 2003, which states in paragraph 7 (a) that the process of the integration of other armed groups should be accomplished before the comprehensive peace agreement comes into effect so that by then there will be only two armed forces — the SAF and the SPLM/A — as agreed upon. That is also an issue that we can resolve.

Regarding the second annex, on implementation modalities for the agreement, sufficient progress has been generally achieved with respect to the two areas of the Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile and Abyei. Further good work needs to be done to bridge the gaps in relation to power-sharing.

However, one obstacle in the implementation modalities is that there are two main outstanding issues that must be resolved in the wealth-sharing protocol. First, the Government of the Sudan proposes a system for the transfer of funds that seeks to pay in local currency the share of the government of the southern Sudan of its oil revenues. That is also a problem that can, I believe, easily be solved. The other issue is the sharing of information on existing oil contracts. That is also something that we have agreed on in the wealth-sharing agreement. That also should not be a problem. It's a problem that we can, I believe, also easily solve.

In summarizing this part of my presentation, I want to state the SPLM position in unequivocal terms. The Government of Sudan and the SPLM have a core agreement already in place in the form of the six protocols and, as is stated in the Nairobi Declaration of 5 June 2004, we consider the Sudan peace agreement essentially already completed. The two outstanding issues in each of the two annexes of the ceasefire agreement and implementation modalities should not take time to resolve, especially in view of the very precarious situation our country is in, and the fact that peace has a price and we prepared to pay that price. That is why we have negotiated in Naivasha with our counterparts, our compatriots in Naivasha, over the last one plus years.

Once more, I want to assure you that the SPLM is willing and ready to work with the other party to resolve the outstanding issues in the two annexes and bring the process to a speedy closure. We will work in partnership with the National Congress Party in establishing a new coalition Government of national unity in accordance with the six protocols.

The SPLM views the agreement as a prelude to the beginning of the process of the democratic transformation of the country, a paradigm shift in the politics of the country, so that Sudan accepts all its citizens equally — whether they are Christians or Muslims, whether they of Arab origin or indigenous Africans, they are all Sudanese. This is also a paradigm shift in Sudan's economic development, so that we will address the issue of rural development as the majority of our people — 98 per cent of the people in southern Sudan, for example — live in rural areas. We will have a paradigm shift in the observance of human rights and freedoms as endorsed by the parties in the comprehensive bill of rights in the power-sharing agreement.

The SPLM will seek to participate effectively in the coalition Government of national unity and other levels of government to ensure the realization of a new political dispensation in the Sudan. In this context, the SPLM will work energetically in partnership with the National Congress Party and all other political forces in the Sudan to ensure timely, free and fair legislative and presidential elections, as shall be agreed in the remaining implementation modalities. In this context, we are committed to the preservation of peace, stability and the territorial integrity of the Sudan during the interim period, and to ensure the holding of a free,

internationally-monitored referendum on the right of self-determination for southern Sudan towards the end of the six-year interim period.

We remain fully committed to the implementation of all aspects of the peace agreement and will make full use of the Assessment and Evaluation Commission throughout the interim period to assess and monitor the implementation of the peace agreement. This is necessary to rectify any shortcomings without renegotiating the agreement.

Through international guarantees and assistance, the international community will play a significant role in the implementation of the Sudan peace agreement, and the present meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi is a positive signal that we very much welcome and appreciate. We appeal to the international community to assist us in the faithful implementation of the peace agreement. Even if one of the parties to the agreement feels that there are too many risks associated with the agreement, in the final analysis, the cost of non-implementation of the agreement would be much higher than the cost of implementation for the whole country. Both parties are therefore best advised in the interest of our country to desist from anything that might undermine implementation of the peace agreement.

Before I close, I come to an issue of grave concern to the Sudan and to you in the Security Council. You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that our country is in dire straits. This situation in Darfur is rapidly degenerating into chaos and anarchy, as the government counter-insurgency policy and campaigns in that region have seriously boomeranged and continue to spiral out of control. Furthermore, the Government has recently foiled a coup attempt, and the prospects for fresh insurgencies emerging in other parts of the Sudan are increasing. This overall situation, if left unchecked, can eventually cause the Sudan to implode and degenerate into statelessness and serious insecurity, the consequences of which for the whole region are obvious.

The only way to avert this looming tragedy is to expedite the Naivasha process and speedily conclude the comprehensive peace agreement on the Sudan, and then to install a broad-based coalition Government of national unity that can best deal with such threats. It is imperative that the international community do its utmost to consolidate the Sudan peace process. We therefore call upon the Security Council — and we have agreed on this with Vice-President Ali Othman Mohamed Taha and General Sumbeiywo — to pass a resolution in this city of Nairobi, that, inter alia, recognizes, endorses and declares the six protocols signed thus far by the Government of Sudan and the SPLM as binding and irrevocable commitments that the parties may not under any circumstances renegotiate and that they must implement. This is in addition to the Council's urging of the parties to expeditiously complete negotiations on the two annexes and sign the comprehensive peace agreement by a specified date. As I have already said earlier, I see no serious obstacles that would prevent us from signing the final peace agreement by the end of this year, 2004.

The four main remaining issues outstanding in the two annexes can be resolved in a matter of days. The situation in the Sudan is sufficiently serious for the two parties to appreciate the urgency of a quick conclusion of the Naivasha process and signing of the comprehensive peace agreement in the shortest time possible. Furthermore, the parties could use this comprehensive peace agreement as a basis for making a fair and lasting peace for the country as a whole, including Darfur and eastern Sudan, applying and adapting the agreements to the particular situation, as well as using the new political dispensation to maintain peace and stability and the territorial integrity of our country during the interim period. We firmly believe that this is the way out of the current Sudanese crisis and debacle, and the SPLM assures the Council as well as assuring the Government of Sudan that the movement would play a positive role and work in partnership with the National Congress Party and other political forces in the country to bring comprehensive peace to all parts of the Sudan.

Allow me, on behalf of the suffering people of the Sudan, to conclude by thanking you most sincerely for having organized and held this historic and rare meeting in our neighbourhood, in Nairobi, in Kenya. This signifies your recognition and awareness of the gravity of the internal Sudanese conflicts and the dangers that they pose to the region and to international peace and security.

The Sudanese people eagerly await the outcome of the Security Council's deliberations and hope that members will not leave Nairobi without sending them a message of hope for Christmas and the New Year. For

our part, we pledge — as did my brother, First Vice-President Ali Othman Taha — that we hope to give Christmas and New Year's presents to the Sudanese people, to the region and to the world by concluding and signing the Sudan peace agreement before the end of this year.

We would also like to pay tribute to the Secretariat of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); to Ambassador Sumbeiywo and his envoys; to the IGAD member States; to the IGAD Partners Forum quartet, composed of Italy, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States; to the Government of the Netherlands; and to the African Union for their unrelenting efforts in search of a just and lasting peace in the Sudan. Finally, I salute President Kibaki for taking the time to attend this important meeting.

The President: Our programme includes a presentation by President Museveni, who is the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. His plane has been delayed; therefore, I am going to suggest that we suspend our proceedings until 12.15 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 11.35 a.m. and resumed at 12.20 p.m.

The President: I now give the floor to the President of Uganda, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Museveni.

President Museveni: I greet the Security Council on behalf of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Before I talk about IGAD issues, I would like to point out that, in my opinion, wherever there is chaos in the world, one will most likely find a confluence of four factors. And what are those four factors? Factor one is parasitic, vested interests. Factor two is superficiality and obscurantism in identifying and dealing with those parasitic interests and their effects on a particular country or group of countries. Factor three is weak or disoriented local leadership. Factor four is the pre-industrial character of many of the affected areas, especially in Africa, where societies are backward and pre-industrial.

In my opinion, as someone who has been observing the scene for the last 40 years, those factors are always present when there is chaos in any part of the world. If I had time, I would elaborate on each of those four factors. But I do not have the time now. It is enough, however, that I have stated them today. Without correcting them, especially the first three factors, we cannot reach a solution, in my opinion.

Some of the chronic problems, such as that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, are due to a combination of some of those factors. Some nationalist legitimate local leadership emerged in 1960, and the first and only elections in the history of the Congo were held. I am referring to the leadership of Patrice Lumumba and his party, the Mouvement National Congolais. Since there was no strong Congolese independent State, trouble broke out soon after independence. The United Nations troops came in. Instead of assisting the only legitimate leadership to emerge in the Congo up to then, and indeed since then, the United Nations took the side of illegal elements, including the famous General Mobutu. It has now been almost 45 years since the Congolese tragedy of 1961. The United Nations is back in the Congo. How can it be that a country cannot develop a capable State in 45 years? What is the problem? Who is responsible for that problem?

We are now witnessing the tragedy of Côte d'Ivoire. How can it be that a country, 47 years after independence, does not have the minimum pillars of State, such as an army capable of defending the territorial integrity of the country, political problems notwithstanding? Is the international involvement in such situations part of the solution or part of the problem? Is the analysis of those situations correct or defective? What about the incredible suffering visited on the people in those situations? I would like the Council to seriously evaluate all those factors.

As the Council knows, Uganda has had a lot of problems. Nevertheless, Uganda has never sought, nor would we ever accept, international involvement in our internal affairs, other than our collaboration with our Tanzanian brothers in getting rid of Idi Amin in 1978 and 1979. That is because we do not like to add to our own copious confusion the international supplies of the same commodity of confusion. It is not wise to add international confusion, to what is already an oversupply of local confusion.

Therefore, in my view, and following our long experience in this part of the world, our actions should be guided by the following steps. First and foremost, any political problem should be solved by the citizens

of the country in question, following democratic principles and guided by belief in the equality of all persons before the law. That should be step number one.

Secondly, if the citizens of that country, for some reason, cannot solve the problem, then the region should come in. In the case of our area, the regional organizations concerned are the following: the East African Community (EAC); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which is here; the Southern African Development Community (SADC); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and others.

Thirdly, ultimately the African Union should bless the process.

Fourthly, it is only then that the international bodies, such as the United Nations, should come into the process, to provide solidarity and back-up support. The advantages are the following.

First, there is the question of knowledge of the problem. Because part of the problem is the fact that the players do not know the problem. I have been Chairperson of the Burundi peace process for a very long time. In 1994-1995, when we were first coming into the process once the citizens of Burundi had failed to provide their own solution, there were many suggestions. Some people suggested that the respected former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, should head that process. I said no. I was Chairperson of the process, and President Jimmy Carter is my very good friend, but I said no. By the time President Carter learned to pronounce Barundi names — and Barundi names are so long: Ntibantunganya, for instance — it would be 10 years later. And he would be unable to help. So I insisted that the retired President of Tanzania, the late Mwalimu Nyerere, should head that process. Then, unfortunately Mwalimu Nyerere died, then we brought in Mr. Mandela. Although South Africa is rather far away, he was supported by all of us and he has done a very good job. That is how the Burundi process is moving steadily and surely. Thus, again, the first advantage I see in this arrangement is the question of knowledge: the ability to know the problem so that one is able to provide a correct solution. One should not complicate an already difficult problem with a lack of knowledge and with superficiality.

Secondly, there is the question of stakeholders. Normally, when there is a problem in a country, the first victims are the people in that country. But the next victims are the neighbours, who are affected next by refugees and all the other problems. The neighbours are therefore stakeholders, next to the citizens of the country. Although sometimes there may be some rivalries which may complicate the issue, those can be specifically isolated and dealt with.

Thirdly, there is the question of international solidarity, especially concerning the question of resources. So once you have the knowledge and you have all the stakeholders brought in, then the next level is international solidarity, especially with respect to resources and maybe some technical contributions.

The four issues of this area are the Sudan, Somalia, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am reversing the order, because I would have started with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but I put it last, because the region is now out of the Congo. The region is the one which shepherded the Congo process, through the Lusaka process, stopped the war and brought about a ceasefire and the disengagement plan. But then, when the United Nations came in, it said the region is out. So the region is now out of the Congo. That is why I am putting it last: because I do not know what is happening. I cannot speak about what I do not know about.

Regarding those four issues, I would like to give the following summarized comments. The leaders of the Sudan, who are sitting next to me here, for a long time refused to listen to the advice of the region in handling the diverse character of that great African country — that country where different African peoples meet.

Many in the world may not know who the Africans are. Africans fall into four major linguistic groups. Africans in all of Central Africa, Southern Africa, much of East Africa and quite a bit of West Africa are part of the Niger-Congo group of languages. It includes the Bantu languages, and also the Kwa languages, the languages spoken in some parts of West Africa.

The second group are the Nilo-Saharan people, like John Garang, and all the people in southern Ethiopia, Chad and so on. Their languages are the Nilo-Saharan group of languages.

The third group are the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, of which those are three in Africa: Arabic, Amharic in one part of Ethiopia, and Tigray in Eritrea and in part of Ethiopia.

The fourth group of languages is the Khoisan, a very small group in South Africa. Those people have somewhat Asiatic facial features, but they live in South Africa, and a few in Botswana and Namibia.

Those are the four linguistic groups of Africa. We have now added the new European languages — I do not know whether we can also call them African: English, French, Portuguese — and even Spanish in some places. Those are the additional new languages of Africa.

Now the Sudan is aware that some of those language groups meet; the Arabic-speaking people meet Garang's people. Those are very different people; they all are African, but they are very different. As you can see, Mr. Garang's people are not only black; they are actually blue, when you look at them very carefully.

Now when you have Arabs and blue men living together under one sovereignty, that is a very serious project, and it should be taken seriously. But that was not taken into account. We are talking to our brothers; fortunately, I have been dealing with them for a long time, and they know my views. At one time, I went to Khartoum — I was invited to the university, and I gave my views there.

As a consequence of not dealing with the issue over the past 50 years, this is where we are today on the question of the Sudan. The six protocols, in my opinion — given what has gone on, given the loss of time in solving this problem — are a reasonable package that should give this region a chance to see peace in the Sudan and then make a fresh start.

When you want to jump, you do not stand in one position and jump. No; you go back first. English is a poor language; it does not have enough vocabulary, like my language. In my language, we have a verb for going backwards in order to jump better: we call it *okusinga*. *Okusinga* is when you go back in order to gather enough momentum to jump far. I think there is a word in English, but I do not remember it, even though I did English at an advanced level.

In the Sudan, because of lost time and lost opportunities, because of mistakes in defining the problem, we need to go backwards. We need to *okusinga*, to borrow my language. I think that is what the Sudan needs. That sense of *okusinga* is captured in these six protocols.

I hope we can implement these protocols, so that we can see what happens next. Therefore I appeal to the parties to the Sudan problem to resolve the remaining issues without delay. When I spoke with Mr. Garang on the telephone the other day, he mentioned the issue of paying the army, and a few other issues. I hope that these can be resolved quickly, so that we can get moving.

I saw a television interview last night when I was in Arusha — we were in Arusha for the meeting on AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis — in which a Sudanese person was saying that the Khartoum Government was busy with the problem in Darfur and that therefore it was not attending to this problem. But, in my opinion, dealing with southern Sudan is part of dealing with the question of Darfur. If you deal with southern Sudan correctly, then you will be able to deal with Darfur more easily.

Turning to Somalia, that country now has an agreed Transitional Government. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union, the Arab League and the United Nations should materially and technically back that Government so that it can establish its authority in Somalia within the shortest possible time. We should not lose any time, because this package in Somalia is very, very important. I must thank President Kibaki and his Government for helping IGAD to negotiate this agreement here in Nairobi, and I would appeal to everyone to support this process.

What they need is troops to assist the Transitional Government to establish its authority inside Somalia. I would propose here the use of African troops. There are troops from very far away — from Uruguay, from the North Pole, from the South Pole; there are quite a variety of them — but I think that African troops could do this work much better. First of all, they are cheaper; we pay our soldiers much less than those people are paid. And they can stand and fight; there is no problem at all.

Where African troops have been involved, we have found solutions quickly. We solved the problem of Amin almost alone, we the Africans — Tanzania, ourselves and a few other countries. We solved the

problem of Mobutu. We are the ones who dealt with the problem of genocide in Rwanda. Genocide would never have stopped if we had not taken a stand. Getting rid of the regime and enabling people to survive was done by Africans. We are the ones who fought apartheid; the Africans are the ones who fought apartheid.

I do not know why, therefore, we do not have a system whereby we have international resources and use African troops to solve these problems. If there is money, we can raise soldiers to deal with this problem of Somalia, or any problem, for that matter. The youth in Africa are doing nothing, they are not employed, they are looking for jobs. It would be very easy for me to raise any number of brigades — two, three, four, five.

Now once, when we were working with the former President Bush on the question of Somalia in 1991, I wanted to make a contribution, but I was told that I could send only one company. I said, "No, I am not going to send one company. I am not here for decoration. If you want me to make a contribution, I must send a brigade, so that you can see what Ugandan soldiers can do in order to make a contribution. But just one company from me — that would be like a jamboree, or something like that."

Let us use Somalia as an example. I am the Chairperson of IGAD, and I have consulted the new President, President Abdullah Yusuf. We can have several brigades of African soldiers go into Somalia and assist the Transitional Government to establish its authority on the ground, if we have the money. Money is the only problem. After all, these soldiers are being paid; even when they are at home they are being paid. The money we may be looking for could be money for transportation, food and so on. We are already paying those soldiers, but if we need to raise new battalions, we may need more money, including for salaries. That is what Somalia needs now. It needs a number of brigades to escort that Government into Somalia so that they can start preparing for elections, so that they can have a legitimate Government.

The situation in Burundi is progressing quite well, mainly because the region, the internal parties of Burundi and the international community are coordinating well. Things are moving along quite well in Burundi, because all of us are there all the time. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ms. Carolyn McAskie, is working with all the stakeholders. We encounter all sorts of complications, but nobody can deceive us, because we know the situation. By putting our heads together, we always reach a good solution.

The only problem in Burundi is money. What is it the French word for money? "Argent." I keep saying that *argent* is what is needed now, first of all for the elections, for printing the ballots. I think some money has been raised for the ballot boxes and so forth, but we also need money to assemble the combatants, put them in one place, disarm them and disband them. If we do not do this, free elections cannot be held, because the parties that have armed groups will use them to intimidate rival parties. It is therefore very important that we get the *argent* for the purpose of demobilizing the combatants.

As regards the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I have expressed my worries to both President Kabila and the Secretary-General. I hope that those worries are taken into account. One of the problems I had with the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is that it has delayed the integration of the combatants. For one and a half years, rebels in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo have been appealing to the Government to integrate them. The Government has been saying, "No, we cannot integrate you". When I inquired further, I was told that Western ambassadors in Kinshasa are the ones advising the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo not to integrate the rebels. Why? Because the rebels committed atrocities, so they must be investigated first. This must be a new theory of conflict resolution. The little I know about conflict resolution is that you first establish peace. If all the troublemakers come peacefully, you accept them with open arms. We should not say, "No, I do not want to allow you in, because I think you may have committed crimes and I want to investigate you first". If people want to come, we should welcome them with open arms.

That is why in the case of Burundi we used the method of "immunité provisoire", provisional immunity. We assume that these people are not all criminals. They bring their guns, they all come, and we put them in the army temporarily. We then use technical standards to reduce their number to the number we want. We take out those who are over age and those who are sick. We may have a standard

regarding education as well. Thus, in the end, we have a smaller number than the original number. Then we give a package to those who are not absorbed. That is where the World Bank comes in: we give them a package, and they go home with a good heart.

Now when we do that, we are solving two or three problems at once. First, people with guns come and hand in their guns. Secondly, we are helping the faction leaders. A faction leader has real problems. He has his followers, and he cannot join the transitional Government and leave his followers out. His followers would kill him and say, "You have betrayed us; you only care about yourself and you forgot about us". That is why some of the faction leaders are very reluctant to come: because they cannot join the process without first having a solution for their followers. When you integrate combatants, you also help the faction leaders. The faction leader is then able to tell his followers, "Look here, my friends, the transitional process has catered for you, so do not harass me".

I truly hope that this issue is dealt with. Only the other day, I sent a special envoy to see President Kabila to tell him about my worries, because I have heard stories of these thousands of people who are out there in that part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo with guns, unaccounted for, and whom the Government wants to investigate first. If we had followed that logic of justice before peace and legitimacy, we would have had no peace process in Burundi, because I cannot vouch for most of the people in Burundi's army. Many among the rebels may have committed crimes. But, by using the technique of "immunité provisoire", however, we gathered all of them and we can proceed to establishing a transitional Government. From a transitional Government, we will proceed to elections, and thus to legitimacy. Then we can come back to the question of justice. That is how that issue was handled in South Africa, if the Council remembers: first negotiations, then the transitional process, elections and then the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to establish questions of justice.

I am taking a lot of your time, members of the Council, but I imagine you came a long way to listen to us, so do not complain. You voluntarily came to listen to us.

In my opinion and according to my experience, the magic formula when internal forces have failed to apply in dealing with the issue is the following: the internal parties, the regional players, and the international players. That is how the problem of Amin was solved, how the problem of apartheid was solved and how the problem of Mobutu was solved, to some extent, although not wholly. In my opinion, if there is an intractable problem, that package of players should shepherd the solution through all the stages: negotiations, agreement, implementation, and guaranteeing the agreement in the post-implementation period. Because, if it is not guaranteed, the internal forces will guarantee it through war — through fighting — asserting their rights themselves in the absence of anybody else to guarantee their interests.

The President: I thank President Museveni very much for his very informative statement.

In accordance with the understanding reached in our prior consultations, I will now adjourn the meeting. I invite Council members and participants to return to this room for a private meeting, which will take place promptly at 2.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5081

Security Council

Distr.: General
18 November 2004

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5081st (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at the United Nations Office at Nairobi (UNON), Kenya, on Thursday, 18 November 2004, at 2.30 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 18 November 2004, the Security Council held its 5081st meeting in private.

"His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Aboul-Gheit, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, was invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

"His Excellency Mr. Lazarus Sumbeiywo, Special Envoy for the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) on the Sudan, was invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

"The Security Council heard statements by their Excellencies Minister Aboul-Gheit and Mr. Sumbeiywo.

"Members of the Council, the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, His Excellency Mr. Ali Othman Taha, First Vice-President of the Sudan, His Excellency Mr. Aminu B. Wali, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and representative of the Chairman of the African Union, and Dr. John Garang De Mabior, Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, had a constructive exchange of views."

04-61490 (E) 181104

United Nations S/PV.5082

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5082nd meeting

Friday, 19 November 2004, 10.30 a.m.
Nairobi

President:	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mrs. Müller
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-61796 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/903, which contains the text of a draft prepared in the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1574 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Ms. Müller (Germany): We welcome the initiative of the Council to hold a meeting on the Sudan here in the region, and we welcome also the fact that the Council, on this very special occasion, has adopted this resolution.

The main aim of our meeting in Nairobi, as well as that of this resolution, is to support the Sudanese peace talks taking place right here in the city. We want to encourage the parties to come to a conclusion and sign a comprehensive peace agreement as soon as possible, at least before the end of this year. I am glad to say that all Council members agree on this point.

The successful conclusion of the Naivasha peace talks between the Government of the Sudan and the SPLM would not only end one of Africa's oldest and bloodiest conflicts; it could also contribute to solving the other conflicts that continue to plague the Sudan and its people.

We are convinced, however, that these other conflicts, most prominently the one in Darfur, have to be addressed even as a great deal of attention is — rightly — focused on helping along the Naivasha talks. But if those other conflicts are not solved, there is no chance for a durable peace in the Sudan.

In our view, it is important, therefore, to remind both sides in the Darfur conflict of their responsibilities to respect the ceasefire and human rights. We need to remind them now — not in a few weeks, when another few thousand people might have been killed or died as a consequence of displacement in Darfur.

Developments in October have, unfortunately, demonstrated that, instead of improving, security and humanitarian problems in Darfur have deteriorated and put even more lives in danger. Civilians in Darfur continue to be attacked, killed or raped. Refugees have been forcefully relocated by the Sudanese parties.

We welcome the signing of the Abuja agreements. The international community will closely monitor the implementation of those agreements by the parties to the conflict.

In accordance with the resolution we have just adopted, Germany considers it imperative to stop human rights violations also in Darfur. All parties to the conflict have to implement their obligations. The rebel parties must respect the ceasefire agreement and immediately cease attacks against civilians and human rights organizations. The Sudanese Government has to fulfil the obligations it once again signed in Abuja, including those concerning the Janjaweed militia.

The Sudanese Government must also take decisive steps to end the state of impunity which is still prevailing in Darfur. Failure to do so would necessitate a firm response by the international community. Again, ending impunity is vital for peaceful development in Darfur. That is why the Commission of Inquiry is mandated to identify perpetrators of human rights violations, with a view to ensuring that those responsible are held accountable.

Germany considers the ongoing work of the Commission of Inquiry to be of the utmost importance and urges the Sudanese Government and all the parties to support the work of the Commission.

We know that all the conflicts in the Sudan are very complex. We know also that they have a lot in common, and therefore it is hard to imagine that there could be peace in one part of the country while in other parts of the Sudan human rights violations continue to occur. Consequently, we very much appreciate the fact that all Council members agreed to address both conflicts in the present resolution. That sends a clear message that the international community is prepared to assist all parties to the conflict in the Sudan to build a sustainable peace and a comprehensive political solution. It reminds them that progress achieved in one part of the Sudan would be lost if suffering in other parts were allowed to continue. In particular, this is a signal that the international community will not stand idle if human rights violations and atrocities in Darfur continue.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is particularly pleased that the Security Council has decided to return to Africa after so many years and that it decided to meet in this hospitable city of Nairobi, thereby showing the great importance it attaches to our continent and the respect and esteem it has for Kenya, which plays such an important part in settling so many conflicts in Africa, and also for all African leaders, who for many years now have been working with determination and dedication to promote African solutions to African problems.

We sincerely hope that this meeting in Africa on the problems of Africa will be beneficial for Africa and for the Security Council, which, after two days of very intensive talks and interaction, will go back to New York with a better idea of African realities and will therefore be able to tackle them with greater prudence and humility.

The fact that the Security Council has unanimously adopted a balanced and constructive text is a positive development that I believe we should all welcome. It is perhaps a sign that African wisdom has inspired the Security Council.

Algeria joined in the consensus because, in the resolution which we have just adopted, the Security Council showed great wisdom by advocating a process of positive dialogue and involvement with the parties concerned, along with continuing firmness and vigilance in our approach. It has undertaken to use its authority and its credibility to ensure the advent of peace in the Sudan. We joined in the consensus also because in the resolution, the Security Council recognizes the primary role that the African Union has played in the process of the restoration of peace in the Sudan and expresses its full support for it. This is particularly true in view of the fact that in this resolution, the Security Council is sending a very strong message to all parties by saying that, by the end of the year, the parties have publicly committed themselves to a comprehensive peace agreement that will lead on to the reconstruction of the country.

Last but not least, this resolution shows a very clear and simple truth. Peace between the north and the south of Sudan will lead to a much better prospect for tackling the other problems that Sudan faces, like Darfur, where the ongoing conflict is of enormous concern to the whole of the international community, and quite rightly so, and, most of all, to Africa itself. Africa, through the African Union, has embarked, not without success, on a triple mission: the respect of the ceasefire, assurances to the civilian population and the need to bring the parties to a peaceful settlement of the problem as soon as possible.

We hope that this resolution will mean a break with the past and it will have the impact hoped for by the international community, which is to see the return of peace and stability throughout Sudan and to bring peace and harmony to all Sudanese.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): It's good news that the Security Council has unanimously supported this resolution, which addresses the search for a comprehensive peace throughout Sudan. We expect the parties now to honour the commitment they have just made, namely, to conclude by 31 December.

It is essential also that the resolution emphasize the need to end attacks and atrocities in Darfur, and remind the parties that the provisions of previous resolutions remained valid today. The British Government remains gravely concerned about the security situation in Darfur. The primary responsibility for the security of the citizens of Darfur rests with the Government of Sudan. But the rebels too have a direct responsibility for recent attacks, as we have repeatedly made clear. We expect both the Government and the rebels to fulfil their commitments within the

humanitarian and security protocols, and to put in place the mechanisms and timetables to end the attacks on innocent civilians in Darfur, and to bring about an immediate improvement in the security situation. No one should interpret this resolution as reducing their commitments and obligations, as set out in Security Council resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004). We interpret this resolution as reiterating the Council's determination to ensure that all parties in Darfur fulfil their obligations. We remind them of the prospect of measures under Article 41 of the Charter for those who do not comply. We expect to see rapid improvement in the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur.

This is the third Security Council resolution adopted this year on Sudan. This is right, because the situation in Sudan has been and remains a threat to international security and stability in the region. The Council needs, therefore, to remain seized of this issue and to be ready to take tougher action if and when this is needed to enforce implementation of this agreement.

The United Kingdom has long supported the efforts of the Government of Sudan and the SPLM to reach a comprehensive peace agreement in the Naivasha process. We recognize that such an agreement is key to political progress in Darfur and key to changes in governance throughout Sudan. But there can be no lasting peace in Sudan without an end to the conflict and instability in Darfur, and indeed in other areas of the country. The resolution we've just adopted supports the Naivasha peace process and other negotiations and holds open the process of wider international support, once a comprehensive peace agreement is being implemented. But that prospect is conditional upon the good will and the cooperation of the parties. We expect them to conclude imminently the necessary agreements to end the conflict and to choose the path of cooperation and peace. Bilateral donors, the European Union, the African Union and others are ready to help. But if the parties do not choose this path, then it is they who will bear the consequences.

Mr. Denisov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The unanimous adoption of this resolution by the Security Council, reflects support by the international community for the process of a peace settlement in southern Sudan, which has now entered a crucial stage. We welcome the steady movement towards a settlement, a prerequisite for which is preservation of the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country. Progress in the Naivasha negotiations after the demonstration of political will by both sides also depends, to a large extent, on support by the international community, primarily IGAD and its Partners Forum.

We hope that the Government of Sudan and the leadership of SPLM/A will speedily complete the negotiations, so that, as soon as possible, probably by the end of the year, they will be able to sign a comprehensive peace agreement. We believe that such an agreement will have a positive impact on the situation in the country as a whole, including Darfur.

The experience of the Naivasha negotiating process has been unique, and we believe it can be useful in the context of the Abuja negotiations on a Darfur settlement. It is important we make clear to the Sudanese that international support will be there for them in their efforts to consolidate a political settlement and rebuild the country after the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement. This resolution we have just adopted does indeed send exactly such a signal to the Sudanese. Now the parties must implement all of their commitments and the international community must allocate sufficient resources to support actual implementation of the future peace agreement.

Recent progress in the Abuja negotiations, primarily the signing of the protocols on humanitarian and security issues, are grounds for hoping and expecting that the Sudanese Government and the rebels will indeed demonstrate the necessary political will and continue the negotiations in a constructive spirit in order to achieve a lasting settlement in Darfur. An important part of stabilizing the situation in that part of Sudan is to be played by the recently expanded and deployed African Union Monitoring Mission, which must be appropriately supported and helped. Its presence will be particularly important in restoring a climate of trust between Khartoum and the rebels. We welcome the willingness of the Sudanese leadership to cooperate constructively with the African Union Mission, and we call on the other side to adopt a similar stance.

The Security Council must continue providing political assistance in the efforts to normalize the situation in Darfur and ensure implementation of agreements between Sudan and the United Nations. It is necessary to redouble the efforts to establish security

in the region and to ensure the unhindered access of humanitarian assistance.

All parties must scrupulously abide by their commitments and comply with the norms of international humanitarian law.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Today is a praiseworthy and memorable day in the history of the Security Council. More than 30 years have elapsed, and now all the members of the Security Council have once again travelled thousands of miles and have come to the continent of Africa to hold meetings devoted to the question of the Sudan, a question that has aroused concern in all parties. The event itself is a reflection of the Security Council's support for, emphasis on and contribution to African issues.

The challenges and threats facing humankind at the beginning of this new century have become more complex and are increasing daily. Only by joining together in cooperation will the international community be able to achieve collective security and peace. Without stability and tranquillity on the African continent, there will be no global peace and security.

African issues are also global issues. We all breathe the same air and share a common destiny. The resolution adopted earlier will certainly play a very important role in helping peace negotiations in the Sudan. The north-south conflict in the Sudan has lasted for four decades. It is the longest-running internal conflict on the African continent. It has resulted in more than 2 million deaths and done great harm to the Sudanese people in both the north and the south, as well as to peace and development in the Horn of Africa. The tragedy must be brought to a speedy end. The prompt and effective resolution of this question is in the fundamental and long-term interests of all the Sudanese people. It would also be conducive to maintaining stability and development in the Horn of Africa.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development and concerned countries, as well as the Sudanese Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement in the southern part of the Sudan, have worked tirelessly throughout that process. The north-south peace talks have made significant progress, resulting in the adoption of six protocols and one declaration. Today, an important memorandum of understanding was signed. The peace negotiations have now reached the final, critical stage, and there is hope for success.

The Chinese delegation, like others, sincerely hopes and trusts that the parties will take this historic opportunity, redouble their efforts and demonstrate strong political will and flexibility with a view to signing the comprehensive peace agreement by the end of the year.

That would not only provide a perfect conclusion to the process of achieving a proper settlement of the long-running question of the southern Sudan, but it would also be conducive to the resolution of the question of Darfur. At the same time, it would set an example of success on the African continent and would encourage all parties to bring conflict to an end through political negotiation. Its great impact and profound positive influence would transcend the north-south process in the Sudan.

It should be emphasized that the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement will be only the first step in the north-south process. Comprehensive and timely implementation of the agreement will be more important, more arduous and more complicated task. That will require both parties, from the north and the south, to continue faithfully to implement their commitments and to comply with the agreement. But it will also need the vigorous assistance of the international community.

China hopes that, once the agreement has been signed and the implementation begins, the United Nations will deploy a peace operation and the international community will immediately begin a package of programmes to assist the Sudan in economic rehabilitation and development. Any procrastination or delay could have a negative impact on the Sudanese effort to achieve national reconciliation. The international community should also assume its important responsibilities and obligations in promoting and achieving Sudanese reconciliation, as well as in maintaining stability and development in Africa. The commitments of the international community should be turned into concrete and down-to-earth action; they must not vanish into thin air.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that China is ready to work with the international community to make every effort to help the Sudan to

become, at an early date, a country of peace, unity, stability and prosperity.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): Once again, the Council is unified in sending a message, through resolution 1574 (2004). The message is special, substantive and significant. The message is special because the Security Council crossed oceans and passed through time zones to highlight its seriousness of purpose in addressing the situation in the Sudan. Resolution 1574 (2004) was conceived in New York and delivered in Nairobi. The Permanent Representative of Great Britain, Sir Emyr Jones Parry, proved to be an excellent midwife. The message is substantive, because resolution 1574 (2004) sets out what must be done by all parties concerned to bring peace to a sovereign, united and independent Sudan. The message is significant since, by holding a historic meeting in Nairobi, the Council has shown that Africa matters and that it cares about the largest country in Africa.

Resolution 1574 (2004) is a gift to the Sudan. As members declare in operative paragraph 1, there is strong support for the efforts of the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement to reach a comprehensive peace agreement. It is a gift that keeps on giving, as the succeeding paragraphs outline what will follow upon the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement. The choice is clearly in the hands of the Sudan.

As with any resolution or agreement, the value of resolution 1574 (2004) will depend on full and transparent implementation. It will be effective and will benefit the Sudanese only to the extent that the parties allow. The challenge now is for all the parties to redeem the pledges and commitments made yesterday, and those signed this morning. Such redemption could start by the building of trust and confidence among the parties themselves and the establishment of what Mr. Garang yesterday called a momentum for peace in all of the Sudan, including with regard to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

When the story of resolution 1574 (2004) is told, it will be a tale of the labours of Security Council members to help the people of the Sudan to promote national reconciliation and to build a peaceful, stable and united Sudan.

Resolution 1574 (2004) also shows that the Security Council can, and will, act to discharge its primary responsibility and mandate. In this resolution, it commits itself to monitor compliance by the parties with their obligations and to take appropriate action against any party failing to fulfil its commitments.

We commend the United States presidency for its initiative in pushing for this historic meeting in Nairobi and for its vigorous leadership in pushing for resolution 1574 (2004), of which I believe every Council member is pleased to be a part.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): In the view of my delegation, resolution 1574 (2004), which the Security Council has adopted unanimously, is both timely and appropriate, given the current circumstances in the Sudan. It is a well balanced text, and cohesively addresses itself both to the Naivasha negotiations in the framework of the north-south peace process and to the Abuja negotiations on the Darfur conflict. The delegation of Spain particularly welcomes the fact that this time the Security Council has been able to speak with a single voice on an issue that, as we know, touches upon sensitive matters. That is undoubtedly a demonstration of the fact that the Council's commitment to the African continent — and in this case to the Sudan — is often sufficiently strong to bring together different approaches to the subject with a view to maximum efficiency in our efforts.

The resolution essentially focuses on the Naivasha peace process and includes strong Council support for the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as the mediator in the negotiating process. That is a new indication of the advantages of a regional approach to conflict resolution.

We are pleased that the parties — the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) —have today signed a solemn declaration on the conclusion of the IGAD peace process, which commits them to signing a comprehensive peace agreement before 31 December 2004. The resolution we have adopted expresses the Council's determined support for the efforts that should soon lead to an overall final agreement. It also pledges the backing of the Council and of the entire international community for the implementation of the agreement by the parties and for the re-establishment of a peaceful, unified and prosperous nation in the Sudan.

The resolution also addresses the conflict in Darfur with the necessary thoroughness, which is a

matter that continues to be of great concern for us. We agree with the Secretary-General that the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement between the north and the south will certainly have positive effects on the resolution of other ongoing conflicts in the Sudan, in particular that in Darfur. We also hope that it will make it possible to prevent the emergence of new tensions in the country. The resolution should prompt us to continue to urge the parties — both the Government of the Sudan and the rebel groups — to comply with the commitments called for in resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004) and to reach and fully and effectively implement comprehensive agreements as soon as possible in the Abuja negotiations being carried out under the auspices of the African Union.

The situation in Darfur continues to be tragic. According to reports received by Security Council, it has even deteriorated in recent weeks. The international community continues to await a more responsible response by the parties involved, first from the Government of the Sudan but also from the rebel groups. Violations of the ceasefire agreement, attacks against the civilian population, new violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, attempts to forcibly return internally displaced persons and the widespread climate of impunity must be ended without any excuse or precondition. All those practices are unacceptable and demonstrate that there is very little will on the part of all those involved to truly resolve the problem. If necessary, the Council must be prepared to take additional measures to oblige the parties to honour their commitments if they do not do so willingly. The resolution we have just adopted also reflects that message with sufficient clarity.

The holding of this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi, on the initiative of the United States presidency of the Council, is a new, tangible demonstration of the interest that not only the Sudan but also the entire African continent have aroused in the Council. This meeting has provided us with a unique opportunity to inject final and very necessary momentum into the Naivasha peace process, the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement and the beginning of national reconciliation in the Sudan. We trust that the hopes that have emerged from the decisions reached today will not be in vain. We owe that, above all, to the peoples of the Sudan and to the region as a whole.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): Romania voted in favour of resolution 1574 (2004), which was just adopted unanimously at this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi. The resolution conforms to the policies and views that the Council has adhered to with regard to the question of the Sudan, including resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004), both of which Romania co-sponsored. It also includes a balanced approach and a convincing message. Most important, resolution 1574 (2004) adequately reflects the very aim of our presence in the capital of the great country of Kenya, namely, to encourage all parties concerned to expeditiously conclude a comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the Naivasha talks and to proceed promptly to its implementation.

Some time ago, we witnessed the signing of the memorandum of understanding binding the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) to work together in that direction. That agreement is included in the resolution, with the memorandum of understanding being annexed to the Council's text. We have also endorsed the decision that the six protocols already agreed form the core of a future comprehensive peace agreement.

This is no small undertaking. I suppose we could say that with the adoption of this important resolution, we are committed in a very special way — as the Security Council and, indeed, as the international community — to the finalization of the north-south peace process in the Sudan. We are similarly committed to the overall stabilization of the Sudan and to utilizing the window of opportunity that is opening up for this important and resourceful African country after decades of internal strife.

We are joined in that reciprocal commitment by all those who invested politically and diplomatically in bringing the process to the current encouraging stage: the United Nations and the Secretary-General, the Special Representative for the Sudan, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union, neighbouring countries, the European Union and many nations in Europe, the Americas and Asia. Romania has played its part in that collective effort. We have long-standing ties with the Sudan and its people and therefore have a special stake in securing the bright future that the country and its people rightfully deserve. Foreign Minister Mircea Geoana paid a momentous visit to the Sudan on 31 July

2004, during Romania's presidency of the Security Council.

My delegation commends the vision and resolve of the United States presidency of the Security Council that has brought us here to Nairobi to illustrate that the conclusion of the Naivasha talks is a key to overall peace in a united Sudan. We were honoured to embark upon this truly extraordinary event involving a series of Council meetings in Nairobi. We all came here with hope and determination, resolved to help bring about a better future for the people of the Sudan. It was high time for a process that was almost completed some time ago to actually reach its intended end. It was also high time to encourage the parties to close the door on the decades-long conflict between them. That is, after all, why the Council came here. We all felt this was an opportunity that could not be passed by.

That vision and resolve have appeared to pay off. We heard First Vice-President Taha and Mr. Garang speak about the obstacles that must still be overcome before a comprehensive peace agreement is signed before the end of the year. But we also recall distinctly that the two leaders considered those obstacles easy to overcome. In their comments we also heard them entertaining at some length the prospects for implementing the comprehensive peace agreement beginning in early next year. I have the distinct feeling that we will now all embark seriously, meaningfully and in good faith on a path that should bring about the long-awaited dividends.

First, we look forward to the positive impact that the prospect of the imminent conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement can be expected to have with regard to achieving progress on Darfur. In the first instance, the final stages of talks on the comprehensive peace agreement should bring about closer interaction with the Abuja process. We remain highly concerned about the latest, worrying developments in Darfur, and we have clearly stated this in the resolution just adopted. The kind of human suffering that is going on there should not be allowed in the international context of the twenty-first century. We support the work done so far by the International Commission of Inquiry and look forward to receiving its findings at the appropriate time.

Secondly, securing an agreement through the Naivasha process will generate positive momentum for peace, much-needed in a region torn by several conflicts, many — if not all — of which are interconnected. The conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement will also send a powerful message that a new, enhanced matrix of cooperation in conflict resolution, involving our world Organization, regionally owned peacemaking and peacekeeping forces and supportive action by regional organizations from other continents, works well for Africa as well, providing added value to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Romania is very keen to take stock of such positive practices, as the reform track on which the United Nations has embarked includes a reflection on how to better use the potential of regional organizations within global efforts to safeguard peace and security.

Thirdly, once the comprehensive peace agreement is in place, a United Nations peace operation could promptly step in to assist in its implementation. I take this opportunity to commend the valuable work already undertaken in that regard by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations Secretariat. We support the concept they have produced and will continue to look into the best ways to tailor it to the challenges of the moment.

Fourthly, securing the comprehensive peace agreement and redressing the situation in the Darfur region is also key for securing an assistance package offered by bilateral and multilateral donors. This features in resolution 1574 (2004). We welcome, in particular, the readiness of the Norwegian Government to organize an international donors conference for the Sudan upon conclusion of the peace agreement. We call on the entire donor community to assist the Government and the people of the Sudan in their efforts for the reconstruction of the country. We look forward, in this context, to hearing from the representative of the Netherlands, who will be speaking on behalf of the European Union, which has been instrumental in providing openings to the crisis in the Sudan throughout the crisis.

The Council went to great lengths in taking a series of rather unprecedented steps to foster a solution to the protracted north-south conflict in the Sudan. I am persuaded that we did the right thing and that it was worth it. The parties must now address the major challenges still lying ahead. The road will not be easy, but there is now a map for the process, and the parties are not alone. I also trust we will not be disappointed in our expectations. While I would hesitate already to

call our experience in Nairobi historic, I truly hope this qualification will impose itself, as we make progress in chartering overall peace in the Sudan, starting from Nairobi.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, I would like to congratulate you on your initiative to hold this special Security Council meeting in Africa to give impetus to the Naivasha peace process, a process that is crucial for ending the long-running conflict in south Sudan and heralding a new, peaceful, democratic, prosperous and united Sudan. This timely initiative has yielded an important early harvest. We thank you, Mr. President, and the hospitable Government and people of Kenya for this.

It is auspicious that the parties to the north-south talks have committed themselves, in the declaration signed today, to conclude a comprehensive peace agreement by 31 December 2004. In the Council's meetings yesterday, it was evident from the statements by Vice-President Taha and Mr. John Garang that the two sides have the political will and vision to finalize this comprehensive peace accord. It is also auspicious that the Security Council has witnessed the signing of the declaration and its enclosed commitments, commitments that have been welcomed in resolution 1574 (2004), just unanimously adopted by the Council.

The resolution reflects the comprehensive and balanced approach required to bring long-term peace and stability to the Sudan. It upholds unequivocally the principles of sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity with respect to the Sudan. It welcomes the six protocols referred to in the Nairobi Declaration as constituting the core peace agreement. It seeks the inclusion of all the parties in a comprehensive peace, which will encompass Darfur and all other areas of the Sudan. The Council has also declared its commitment to assist the Sudan upon the conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement.

Pakistan, together with other members, remains concerned about the situation in Darfur. Despite the Security Council's attention, the situation appears to have deteriorated again. We must closely analyse the reasons for this. Although accords on humanitarian and security issues were recently accepted by the parties in Abuja, there have been increased cease-fire violations in Darfur and, reportedly, most of these violations were initiated by the rebel groups, provoking reactions by others. New insurgent movements have appeared. Command and control over various militias is unclear, and thus the danger of chaos looms. In this context, it is essential that the international community give the right messages, not only to the Government of the Sudan, but especially to the rebel movements, which have made demands that are, in some cases, unrealistic and inflexible.

The approach taken by the Security Council, by the Secretary-General and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Pronk, is, we believe, realistic and balanced. This approach includes the following: first, enlarging an effective African Union presence with international help; secondly, pressing for compliance by the parties; thirdly, ensuring humanitarian assistance; and fourthly, working for balanced political solutions. The resolution we have just adopted reflects such a balanced and pragmatic approach, one that Pakistan has consistently counselled and which is, based on cooperation and not coercion, since coercion, we have learned, can be counterproductive.

Pakistan enjoys close and fraternal relations with the Sudan, which are the result of our common heritage. Pakistan was closely involved, through the United Nations, in the Sudan's emergence from colonial occupation as a sovereign and independent State. We therefore have a significant interest in ensuring the unity and territorial integrity of this largest State of Africa, a State with rich diversity and great potential. We hope that prosperity will come to the Sudan, a Sudan at peace with itself and with its neighbours. History awaits the Sudan. The consensus reached in Nairobi is surely a sign that the people of the Sudan, from the north, from the south, east and west, are ready to grasp the promise and potential that history offers them today.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Brazil took part in the consensus leading to the adoption of resolution 1574 (2004) this morning.

I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, and your delegation on the initiative of convening this important — even historic — meeting in Nairobi. We highly value the fact that for the past two days the Security Council has been considering issues of great relevance for Africa, in particular those relating to the Sudan and Somalia. The Brazilian delegation is particularly pleased to visit the sisterly country of

Kenya. The fundamental purpose of the Council's being here in Nairobi is to make its contribution, under the United Nations Charter, to the peace process in the Sudan and to a comprehensive political settlement of the Sudanese situation.

I take this opportunity to pay tribute to President Kibaki and his counterparts in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) process for their remarkable diplomatic work and for their reaffirmation of African ownership of and responsibility for any initiatives aimed at enhancing the prospects for stability and sustainable peace on the continent.

We have heard many authoritative presentations on and assessments of the current situation in the Sudan. The improvement of humanitarian and security conditions, the end of hostilities, stability and a fair and durable political settlement for the whole country are stated objectives of all the parties despite their differences. The Government of the Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) and, of course, the national mediators have reaffirmed their good faith and their political commitment to the prompt implementation of the agreements being reached.

Taking that into account, and mindful of, the resolution just adopted, my delegation believes that — as others have already stated — peace is within reach. We strongly encourage all parties to conclude the negotiations, both in Nairobi and in Abuja, in a timely fashion. No matter how complex the situation in the Sudan, the current generation of Sudanese leaders has the opportunity to come to terms with history and with cultural and religious diversity, as well as to deal with suffering and long-delayed economic development. A vision for the future of the Sudan should include the ideals of multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity and tolerance, as well as shared power and shared natural resources.

My delegation wishes to stress the importance of efforts by neighbouring countries aimed at a sustainable peace in the Sudan. It is encouraging that the countries in the region remain firm in their commitment to assist a peaceful and united Sudan that is capable of leading its own destiny in an environment of friendly and neighbourly relations.

The resolution just adopted is based on the common understanding that the conclusion of the north-south negotiations is crucial and that few items still remain to be agreed upon. My delegation congratulates the parties on their decision today to sign the declaration on the conclusion of IGAD negotiations on peace in the Sudan, which reflects their commitment to reach a final agreement before the end of this year. Once signed, the agreement must be promptly implemented. In their efforts to do so, the parties should benefit from the support of the international community, which is already committed to broad participation in the donor conference to be organized by Norway. My delegation will leave Nairobi with a stronger belief that the transitional Government to be established not only will be committed to solving other conflicts in the country, but also will be better equipped to find long-lasting and fair solutions to them.

As our resolution shows, here in Nairobi our attention — while focused on the north-south negotiations — was also drawn to the humanitarian situation in Darfur. We trust that the future talks in Abuja will be strongly and positively influenced by the agreements reached in Nairobi under the auspices of the IGAD peace process. It is the view of my delegation and of many others that in the absence of a political solution to the issues of autonomy and power-sharing, among others, the already dire humanitarian conditions in Darfur will further deteriorate, as has actually happened in recent weeks. Whatever the longer-term prospects may be, continuing humanitarian assistance to the population of Darfur will be required.

In conclusion, my delegation reaffirms the need for increased international support for the African Union in Darfur. We remain sure that the Secretary-General — to whom we express our profound recognition for his tireless work — will continue to keep the Council closely informed about the assistance to be provided. Given the historic burdens of the Sudan and its recent past, it seems clear by now that there is no military solution to the awesome challenges the country faces. The Council is able to play a beneficial role and there is room for manoeuvring in our quest for peace, as the Council is committed to the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Sudan within the framework of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference and regional cooperation, as stated in resolution 1574 (2004).

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Benin voted in favour of resolution 1574 (2004) because we wanted to welcome the broad consensus achieved by

the parties and because we are convinced that the situation prevailing in the Sudan requires urgent action.

The holding of this Security Council meeting in Nairobi attests to the concern of the international community and to the will of the Council to enter into a constructive dialogue with the parties to the conflict so that they can understand the gravity of the situation. That is why we welcome the frankness and openness of spirit that have characterized the very edifying and encouraging discussions that we have had with the parties and with the high-ranking representatives of African bodies that are seeking to facilitate the ongoing negotiations. We very much appreciated the lofty sense of responsibility demonstrated by one and all during our discussions. That enabled the Council to deliberate in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity.

The Council, by resolution 1574 (2004), committed all the parties to do their utmost to achieve the desired result: nothing more or less than the conclusion, at an early date and within the framework of the Naivasha process, of a comprehensive peace agreement that will provide the keys to a lasting settlement of open or latent multidimensional conflicts and the formula to eliminate the real risk of escalation that has been facing the Sudan.

My delegation welcomes the signing of the memorandum of understanding whereby the parties themselves pledge, as witnessed by the international community, to make every effort to finalize the negotiations on all pending issues and to conclude the comprehensive peace agreement by 31 December 2004 at the latest. We are convinced that the comprehensive agreement will create a new dynamic of peace, have a positive impact in all the regions of the country and cause all the people of the Sudan to see their future in a new light. In that regard, we believe that the parties should create new opportunities as soon as possible that will enable us to make the peace process as inclusive as possible.

We welcome the current strengthening of the African Union mission in Darfur. The African Union can make a difference in preventing the grave human rights violations caused by the conflict, but it can fully carry out its mission only if it is fully supported by the United Nations and Member States. The resolution recognizes that imperative need. In that context, Benin associates itself with the appeal to the parties to put an immediate end to the violence against the civilian population and to fully respect international humanitarian law in order to facilitate full access to humanitarian assistance and the security of personnel entrusted with providing such assistance. We stress there is a need to ensure full safety for such personnel.

We urge the international community promptly to mobilize the resources needed to help finance programmes initiated by the Government of the Sudan to build peace and sustainable development, so that all the people of the Sudan can once again enjoy the wonders of peace, prosperity and social progress.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. President, for having brought us to these meetings here in Nairobi. This is a historic day, and we trust that there will be an historic peace agreement. The Security Council is meeting in Africa to assist in solving, together with Africans and the regional organizations, this long-standing crisis in Sudan.

We are gratified by the unanimous adoption of today's resolution on Sudan. It is a well-balanced resolution that gives strong support to the Naivasha peace process, which is being mediated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, without ignoring the Council's long-standing concern about the grave humanitarian situation in the Darfur region. The Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army have been urged to conclude a comprehensive peace agreement by the end of this year, and the Council has committed itself, once the parties have met their commitments, to provide the support necessary to ensure that the Sudan will be a united, prosperous and peaceful country. The resolution clearly states that the resolution of the Darfur conflict in Darfur would create conditions conducive to the delivery of such assistance.

A comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the Naivasha process would give momentum to a political settlement of the Darfur crisis. That would send the clear and resounding message that there is an alternative to violence and that peace can be achieved by means of political negotiations. In that connection, today's resolution emphasizes the importance of making real progress in the peace talks facilitated by the African Union in Abuja between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. My delegation feels that it is clear that the Council should act on various fronts with regard to the Sudan to help in

finding a lasting solution to the country's problems. There is an obvious interrelationship and interdependence between the Naivasha peace process and the humanitarian tragedy in Darfur.

Our intention today is to promote a final agreement in the peace negotiations facilitated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. We are pleased to note the commitment made by the parties in the Declaration annexed to the resolution, to implement by 31 December the protocols and annexes negotiated within the Naivasha peace process and to resolve outstanding issues.

We congratulate the parties on having entered into this solemn commitment today. The united voice of the Security Council in support of the parties' commitment has been expressed in today's resolution, and that will become increasingly relevant. Our commitment to a final conclusion of the Naivasha process must lead to a political settlement in Darfur. Darfur is not simply a bargaining chip in the effort to reach north-south peace. In our view, we do not endanger the conclusion of a north-south agreement by insisting that both parties meet their commitments on Darfur relating to the ceasefire, to respect for human rights, to putting an end to impunity and to ending violence against civilians, and that they fulfil the mandates set out in Security Council resolutions. To the contrary, we recall the interconnection between the two situations; and, in the final analysis, that is politically smart. Now is the time to encourage a commitment to peace between the north and the south in the Sudan. We know that this will bring many benefits in dealing with the other challenges in the Sudan.

The results the Security Council achieved today send a clear signal of support for preventive diplomacy, for a multidimensional approach to solving problems and for regional solutions to promote comprehensive peace and security — in this case, the resolution of African problems essentially by the Africans themselves.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): On your initiative, Mr. President, the Security Council has come to Nairobi to discuss peace in the Sudan with the principal participants in the Naivasha process. The exceptional nature of this meeting attests to how strongly the international community desires the return of peace to the Sudan.

The signing of a final peace agreement for the south is essential for stability throughout the region, as Intergovernmental Authority on Development mediators were well aware when they offered their support to the parties. France salutes their efforts and particularly those made over the past few years by General Sumbeiywo on behalf of the Kenyan Government.

The signing of a final peace agreement between the Khartoum Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is, in the view of all those we heard yesterday and today, within our grasp. We have come here to say to Vice-President Taha and to Mr. Garang that it is now up to them to move swiftly towards the conclusion of their negotiations.

The Sudanese have been waiting eagerly for this peace for the two years and more since the Machakos ceasefire agreement was signed. We cannot forget, and cannot repeat too often, that it is the ordinary people who have paid the heavy price of war and that what happened in the south of Sudan is a real humanitarian tragedy. We should not prolong the suffering of the people by letting the situation of uncertainty drag on: everyone agrees that that is what makes for a fragile state of affairs.

The negotiators are responsible to their compatriots to conclude a peace agreement without further delay. It goes beyond this concern, to the stability of the entire country. Further procrastination on south Sudan could have negative consequences elsewhere.

We are bound to welcome the solemn commitment just made by Vice-President Taha and Mr. Garang, to settle those issues which still stand in the way of a comprehensive agreement by the end of the year. In that regard, we will not fail to monitor very closely the establishment of the new institutions.

Everyone agrees that peace in Sudan will not be complete without a political settlement for Darfur. The fact that the Security Council has come to Nairobi is a clear sign of our urgent concern — because of the appalling humanitarian tragedy that the conflict has caused, and also because of the threat it poses to international peace and security. The presence of 230,000 Sudanese refugees in Chad creates a serious humanitarian problem. Given the climate of violence and impunity which continues to reign in Darfur, this is another worrying factor contributing to instability.

The Government and the Darfur rebels must fulfil all of their obligations. The information we are receiving, which indicates that violence by all parties continues against civilians, is extremely worrying. The violence must cease immediately and fully. Impunity for the perpetrators must not be tolerated. The Government must, as it has committed itself to do, prosecute those responsible with no further delay.

The resolution we have just unanimously adopted shows that the Security Council, for its part, is ready to shoulder its responsibilities. The advance mission set up by the Secretary-General means that when the time comes we will be ready to implement a comprehensive peace agreement.

The Council renews its support for the remarkable efforts of the African Union to foster peace in Darfur, both by sending observers and troops into the field and through political mediation in Abuja. The Council would like to encourage the donor community to mobilize in order to support those efforts and to offer the aid necessary for the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement.

But the Security Council also expects the parties, in their turn, to shoulder their responsibilities. They must be aware that they will be held to account with regard to compliance with their commitments and implementation of Council resolutions.

The Security Council today offers encouragement to all parties who are sincere in their desire to contribute to peace in the Sudan. Each of them, however, must be aware that the Council will not fail to be extremely exacting when it comes to making sure that they comply fully with their commitments.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Mr. President, I wish to start by expressing my delegation's gratitude to President Kibaki and to the Government and the people of Kenya for their warm welcome and legendary hospitality. Since our arrival in this beautiful city of Nairobi, we have been made to feel at home. We also commend you, Sir, on your vision to include this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council on the Sudan during your month in the presidency. The end results we have achieved are a very good reward for the resolve and dedication you have demonstrated towards solving this crisis.

The holding of this meeting in the historic city of Nairobi constitutes a sign of recognition of the efforts of the member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to find a solution to the various conflicts affecting our continent, particularly in this subregion. The Government of Kenya has played a particular role in this process by acting within the spirit of pan-Africanism, a legacy of one of the most prominent and unforgettable sons of Africa, Jomo Kenyatta. Today it is almost impossible to write the recent history of many African countries and peoples — including my own, Angola — without referring to a Kenyan city or locality. We all agree on the historic importance of holding this meeting in Africa, especially for the country my delegation represents today, the Republic of Angola.

It must be recalled that 32 years ago, at the very first meeting of the Security Council in Africa, the Council addressed the question of apartheid in South Africa and the question concerning the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration — namely, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe — as well as the questions of Zimbabwe and Namibia, then under occupation and colonial rule. Two years after that Council meeting, freedom became a reality in the former Portuguese colonies, while the question of apartheid in South Africa and Zimbabwe entered a decisive phase that led to their settlement.

We also hope that this meeting will be a turning point for the end of conflicts still affecting the African continent, particularly in the Sudan and in Somalia. Vice-President Taha referred yesterday to the Sudanese presidency of the Security Council in 1972. Guinea-Conakry and Somalia were at that time the other African members of the Council, while Angola was a country on the agenda and represented by a liberation movement, the MPLA. My delegation would therefore like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the people of the Sudan, Somalia and Guinea, and all those who, through the Organization for African Unity, the United Nations, or in their individual capacity, contributed to the liberation of Angola and all African countries from colonial domination.

Today, 32 years after that historic Council meeting, there are still unresolved conflicts prevailing on the continent, and in that respect the Security Council may offer an opportunity to meaningfully address them and provide solutions. Nairobi, in keeping with its tradition, will certainly remain the place to advance towards the end of the long conflict in

the Sudan. My delegation was particularly pleased yesterday to hear the word "brother" from Vice-President Taha and Chairman John Garang when referring to each other. This is indicative of the good atmosphere and openness that seem to prevail among the parties and are key factors for the successful implementation of the core peace agreements and protocols.

The signing today of the declaration on the conclusion of the IGAD negotiations on peace in the Sudan opens a new page of hope for all Sudanese people. It is important, however, that the same patience and seriousness so far demonstrated by the parties continue to prevail in order to face the challenges of implementation, bearing in mind that no peace can be achieved without mutual concessions and great sacrifice by all Sudanese men and women.

Angola highly values the international community's efforts to pave a way for the implementation of the protocols. It welcomes the preparatory work being done by the United Nations to deploy an advance mission in the Sudan, as well as the readiness expressed by Norway to hold a donors conference to mobilize the necessary resources.

Regarding the Sudanese region of Darfur, the signs of regression in key aspects of the situation were discussed yesterday, and important proposals were made regarding the African Union force, development of the region and the impact of the Naivasha process on a resolution of the conflict. We should by all means avoid a scenario of having a poorly endowed expanded African force in Darfur and a well-equipped United Nations operation in south Sudan. This indicates the need for appropriate support to enable the African Union to play its leading role adequately.

Post-conflict peace-building in the Sudan and the deployment of a United Nations peace support mission to the country are some of the most challenging tasks of our time, due not only to the size of the Sudan but also to the complexity of the situation and the multiform character of the required response. My delegation fully shares the assessment of the Secretary-General that it is not possible to implement a comprehensive peace agreement without a joint, integrated strategy among the competent United Nations agencies and programmes. The approach proposed for the future peace support operation, according to which the work of the future mission must be synchronized and coordinated with development efforts, is key to addressing the root causes of the conflict in the Sudan.

Finally, the delegation of Angola fully supports resolution 1574 (2004) just adopted by the Council at this historic session here in Nairobi, and we are honoured to be part of the consensus. We are confident that this resolution will enable the process to move forward. The Sudanese people should play the primary role for that to become a reality.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

First, I would like to thank the United Nations for hosting and organizing this historic meeting of the Security Council. I thank President Kibaki and the Government of Kenya for their support and hospitality, not just over the past two days but throughout the peace process. I want to acknowledge the important contributions of President Museveni, as Chairman of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, and the continuing heroic efforts of General Sumbeiywo. I thank all speakers that have contributed to this event.

I have stated that this is an historic meeting. Because it is only the fourth Council meeting outside New York since 1952, it is in some sense historic almost by definition. But the only real measure of the success of this occasion, the only measure of whether it proves to be a truly significant event, rests with the parties to the conflict in the Sudan.

Yes, we passed a resolution — the fourth one on the Sudan this year. And yes, the parties signed a memorandum of understanding. But some will say — some are already saying — "Oh, just another resolution", and "Oh, the memorandum of understanding is just an agreement to agree to peace sometime down the road". Some will say that this whole event is just a photo opportunity. Some will say that we have had two beautiful days in Nairobi, filled with grand words, but that the event was an illusion. In the meantime, people are dying in the Sudan, women and children are suffering, and the atrocities in Darfur continue.

We came here not for a ceremony, not for a photo opportunity but for results. The Secretary-General and his staff came here to emphasize the critical juncture that the parties have reached in the peace process. Ambassador De La Sablière accommodated this trip

around his own very important African mission. From a personal perspective, this is my eighth trip to Africa since 2001 on issues related to the Sudan. The entire Security Council flew here together, unified in its desire to see peace in all of the Sudan, now.

Vice-President Taha, Mr. Garang, I listened to your words to the Council, and I believe that you are in fact determined to conclude a comprehensive peace by 31 December, as you have promised the world you will do. It is up to you to prove the naysayers and the sceptics wrong and to move your country forward towards joining the family of nations. As this meeting attests, the attention of the world is upon you. The United Nations and all the nations of the world expect, and demand, that you deliver on your word. That means that there must be a peace agreement in place by 31 December. Implementation must begin on 1 January. General Sumbeiywo has agreed to come to New York early next year to brief the Council on the early stages of implementation.

The process of turning the Sudan into a prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours must move forward immediately. The Sudan must become a nation that respects human rights and that replaces violence with political dialogue. That process must proceed with dispatch, without posturing, grandstanding or empty words.

I ask everyone present today to think what could be. Imagine the Sudan starting the first day of 2005 and evolving through the six-year interim period covered by the agreement. Picture a Government of national unity and reconciliation, with renewed political and economic ties to other nations and a stable Darfur. At that point, donor nations would provide the economic horsepower to drive development, and there would be a nationwide infrastructure of security, stability and justice.

That brings me to Darfur, where chaos and cruelty remain the order of the day. As political institutions are established nationwide and as security is established across the country, the process of bringing justice to the oppressed people of Darfur must continue. I want to be very clear: the violence and the atrocities being perpetrated in Darfur must end now. You have heard this message clearly from the Security Council; heed it. I cannot emphasize this point more strongly.

When the north-south agreement is in place, the flow of support for all of the Sudan will increase on the understanding that the parties are fulfilling their commitments, including those agreed in Abuja and N'Djamena. Peace support operations will also be carried out across the country, including in the west. Working alongside the parties, and with the continuing and vital leadership of the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, we can use the conclusion of the north-south peace process as a springboard to end the suffering in Darfur.

But this picture, this vision, this dream of peace hinges on the parties meeting their commitment to sign a peace agreement by 31 December 2004. We are very, very close to peace, but we have been close before. Vice-President Taha, Mr. Garang, do not let this opportunity slip away. Follow through with your promises. Prove that you are men of your word. And allow yourselves the tremendous satisfaction of knowing that you have taken the first steps to reversing the abuses and ending the suffering that have plagued your country for so long. Then, and only then, will the parties be able to look back on their commitments made here today in Nairobi as the turning of a new and great page in the once-troubled history of the Sudan.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I invite the First Vice-President of the Sudan, Mr. Ali Osman Taha, to take the floor.

Mr. Taha (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Sudan, to renew our thanks to the Security Council, which left United Nations Headquarters to meet for two days in Africa to discuss African issues, in particular support for the peace process in the Sudan.

Let us hope that the resolution adopted today and the memorandum of understanding, whose signature the Council has witnessed, will, together, constitute a strong guarantee that will expedite the implementation of the remaining measures, so that the long and difficult process of attaining a comprehensive, sustainable peace will succeed by the end of the year.

Peace has long been a strategic option for the Government of the Sudan. For one and a half decades, we have knocked on all doors and have looked everywhere in search of peace. Now, thanks to the sincere determination manifested in the Naivasha peace

process, which led to the signature of the six protocols and the 5 June Nairobi Declaration, we are more determined than ever to see our people reap the fruits of that long process. Therefore, what has been achieved so far should be safeguarded, for it did not occur by accident. Nor has it been posturing or manoeuvring; it was accomplished through the work of bare arms, struggling to pull down the wall of war.

The Government of the Sudan has repeatedly emphasized, and continues to reaffirm that it is fully committed to the implementation of the protocols and to the agreement on a comprehensive peace treaty in consonance with the spirit and the letter of the resolution that the Council adopted today and with the message to the parties to fulfil their commitments.

It was only natural that the resolution should address the issue of Darfur, for peace is an integral and indivisible whole. Hence, we assure the Council once again that the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is the quickest way to settle the crisis in Darfur. The Naivasha protocols lay down a framework allowing the various regions of the Sudan the widest possible self-rule, within a federal framework. Moreover, balanced, comprehensive development is a top priority of the plan that I outlined yesterday.

We here renew our commitment to the provisions of resolution 1574 (2004). We believe that it embodies a positive message that gives impetus to the peace process in its entirety.

Yesterday and today, Council members have become acquainted with the facts and the details of the Sudan peace process. As my brother, Mr. John Garang, Chairman of the SPLM, and I both said yesterday, the international community has a very important role to play in supporting the implementation of the agreement, especially during the first years of the transitional period. We look forward to wider participation and increased contributions from the international community at the donors' conference to be held in Norway. Here, we hail Norway for its efforts and for the preparations it has carried out. We wish that conference every possible success.

In conclusion, I reiterate my gratitude to the President of the Republic of Kenya. We also thank you, Mr. President, for accompanying us in this peace process over the past three years. We extend our gratitude to the members of the Security Council for this historic extraordinary session. Our thanks go also to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and its secretariat, which has unflaggingly followed this difficult process over these long years; to the IGAD Partners Forum; to the African Union; to General Sumbeiywo, the envoy of the Kenyan President; and to all of the other partners, mediators and observers who have taken part in the process.

Mr. President, you said in your statement that these meetings should not end up as a photo opportunity filled with grand but empty words. We wish to assure you, Sir, that we are eager and fully committed to giving the people of the Sudan, Africa and the entire international community the gift of peace at the end of this year and the beginning of the next.

The President: I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, Mr. John Garang, in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Garang: Let me begin, Mr. President, by expressing my appreciation for the initiative that you took to bring the Security Council to Kenya. Let me congratulate all the members of the Security Council for the achievements they have just accomplished: the signing of the memorandum of understanding between us and the Government of the Sudan, and the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 1574 (2004).

The Council's trip to Kenya, as is clear now, was not in vain. Achieving a comprehensive peace agreement for the Sudan by the end of the year will lead to greater peace for the Sudan, as many of us have emphasized. The memorandum of understanding and resolution 1574 (2004) anchor the Sudan peace process in the Security Council. I heard earlier that a Council member was its midwife, so now it is the Council's baby.

This resolution will create the momentum for peace in the Sudan — instead of momentum for war, various resistance groups springing up here and there in the Sudan, and, ultimately, national disintegration. That will be averted by moving towards peace and generating that momentum, so that, instead of splintering, we will have greater unity.

Resolution 1574 (2004) sends a message to the Sudanese people, who have suffered for so long — the people of southern Sudan, the people of the Nuba mountains, of the southern Blue Nile, of Abyei, of Darfur, of eastern Sudan and of the Sudan in general. Their long suffering is at last coming to an end, so that they can put the pieces of their lives back together and so that we can once again hear the happy singing of children on their way to school.

As concerns the resolution that the Council has just adopted, we, the parties, may not fully realize at this time that it represents a much stronger action than, say, sanctions on which the Council might not have achieved consensus. But there is a consensus on this, and I say that it is much more serious because it is a commitment by the parties to reach a political settlement by 31 December. That implies that, if the parties do not adhere to their commitments, there could be much more serious consequences than sanctions would entail. That is my meaning.

In that regard, I wish to express to the Council the full commitment of the SPLM to do its best not to disappoint the Council, the Sudanese people, the region or the world community. Peace in the Sudan is good for southern Sudan, it is good for the new Sudan, it is good for the Nuba mountains, it is good for the southern Blue Nile and Abyei, it is good for the Sudan as a whole, it is good for Darfur, it is good for the region, it is good for Africa, and it is good for the world community.

We will, as I say, do our best to fulfil our commitments. We also appeal to the Council to do its best also to fulfil its commitments. We will need a great deal of assistance, as the Sudan has been fractured for a long time. This is the twenty-second year of the war, and before that we were at war for 17 years. That is 39 years out of the 48 years of our independence. There must be very serious issues at stake for any community to subject itself to generations of war. We will do our best to sort out these difficulties and to put our country back together, so that we can join the community of nations in peace, development and prosperity.

We will need assistance in the implementation of the agreements that we have signed. We have signed the one that is in front of the Council, on security arrangements. The security arrangements encompass a broad range of issues: the building of the army; demobilization, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR); taking care of ex-combatants, so that they can go back to normal civilian life — a productive life that befits the sacrifices that they have made. We have signed an agreement on wealth-sharing, where, again, we will need considerable assistance, as we will in implementing the agreements on power-sharing, on the two areas of the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile, on Abyei, and on the issue of the right of self-determination at the end of the interim period.

These agreements are reflective of the diversity of the Sudan, which we try to accommodate in these agreements, because failure to manage diversity is what led to those generations of war and generations of suffering. In order for us to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of our country — a country that is characterized by diversity — we must implement the six protocols that we have signed, and those six protocols must lead to greater peace for our country, so that there is peace in Darfur, there is peace in eastern Sudan, there is peace all over our country.

Peace will be meaningless unless it leads to tangible benefits for individuals and society as a whole. The issue of the reconstruction and development of all areas of the Sudan, especially the war-affected areas of southern Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile, Abyei, Darfur and other areas, is of paramount importance, and we will need — and we expect — the Council's assistance in that regard.

In that connection, I want to express my appreciation for the role played by Norway as it prepares for the donors conference. We appeal to you, who represent countries and regions, to generously contribute and to generously pledge at the donors conference. However, pledging is one thing, and releasing funds is another. I want you to pledge and also to release funds, otherwise, as Mr. Danforth said earlier, these would be empty promises. Those are your commitments — the commitments of the international community — to help the Sudan regroup and move towards reconstruction and development, so that the people of the Sudan, who have suffered for so long, can find tangible benefits in peace.

Peace, to me, is what it means to each individual. It is not what it means to the Security Council, or to the SPLM, or to the Government of the Sudan, but what it means to individuals as they put their lives back

together, and what tangible benefits they reap as a result of peace. We will do our best to act as catalysts for people to realize their aspirations.

I wish to impress on the Security Council and on its members, as representatives of their respective countries and regions, that the Sudan offers great opportunities. We have vast resources, including far-reaching ideas, that will be unlocked by the comprehensive peace agreement which we have just pledged to reach by the end of the year.

On behalf of the SPLM/SPLA and the people of the Sudan, we welcome the participation of the members of this world body, the Security Council, in this great Sudanese project, which involves a paradigm shift in politics, in the economy and in society, as we chart a course towards a new Sudan of peace, justice, stability and prosperity for all. That is the only way we can keep the Sudan glued together in all its diversity.

Again, Mr. President, I congratulate you. I congratulate the members of the Security Council, General Sumbeiywo and the IGAD envoys and leaders, the Troika, and the African Union and thank them for all the contributions they have made to get us this far. It has been a tortuous journey since we started in 2002 at Machakos, coming to Naivasha. We have been faced with hill after hill. Every time we conclude a peace agreement, we think we have reached the summit, but then we realize that there is another hill in front of us. We hope that, by signing a comprehensive peace agreement, we shall have surmounted the last hill, and we hope that the flat ground ahead of us will contain no minefields, so that we can proceed with the task of development for our people.

Again, we assure the Council of our commitment to the memorandum of understanding that we have just signed and of our appreciation of the resolution that the Council has adopted. As I have said, it is now our common baby, as a product of the Security Council.

Finally, I wish the best to all the Sudanese people. I wish them the gift of peace as we approach Christmas and the end of the year. I also wish the best to the people of the region. I appreciate the interventions of the President of Kenya and of President Museveni, both of whom took the time to address these important meetings.

The President: It is a very special privilege to welcome to the Security Council the Minister of International Development of Norway. It is impossible to overstate how important Norway has been to the peace process. It has been central; it has played a leadership role. Ms. Johnson has been involved for years in this effort, always in a leadership capacity and always very, very constructively.

I now give the floor to Ms. Hilde Johnson, Minister of International Development of Norway, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Ms. Johnson (Norway): Let me start by thanking you, Ambassador Danforth, for inviting me to address the Security Council here in Nairobi today. I am grateful for this opportunity to speak about the international donors' conference to be held in my country, and am honoured to be part of this highly important meeting. The fact that the Security Council is meeting in Nairobi sends a strong message: a message about the world's commitment to support a Sudan without war; a message about the world's expectations for a speedy conclusion of the Sudan peace talks sponsored by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); a message that we must all do our part to bring about peace in a country where so many have suffered for so long.

The main responsibility for the Sudan's future development rests with the Sudanese leaders, but it is crucial that the international community stand ready to support the parties in rebuilding and developing the country once the foundation for a Sudan at peace has been laid.

Norway has offered to host an international donors' conference to address the next step: the reconstruction and development of a country devastated by decades of conflict. Preparations for the Oslo conference are well under way. We are only waiting for the parties to take the very last steps to peace.

The situation in Darfur reminds us again and again that those last steps must be taken very soon — now. Norway strongly condemns the continued killings and attacks on civilians taking place in Darfur, and we fully support the Security Council's call for rapid implementation of the humanitarian and security protocols. We welcome and support the efforts of the African Union in the Abuja negotiations and on the ground in Darfur, and we commend the parties for signing the significant agreement in Abuja recently.

But we share the view that the road to a political solution to the crisis in Darfur goes through the completion of the IGAD peace negotiations. A comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the IGAD talks will become the platform for peaceful solutions nationally, in Darfur and in other volatile regions. But the urgent and undivided attention of the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is now needed to complete the process.

The Sudan is at a crossroads, where the country's leaders have to choose between the path to peace and stability and the path to fragmentation and fighting. That is why the memorandum of understanding just signed is promising. The successful outcome of the peace talks will mark the end of one long process and herald the start of another: the rebuilding and development of Sudan.

When the parties have laid the foundation for a peaceful environment throughout the country, when internally displaced persons are able to return, when people can go back to their daily lives without fear, when international assistance can safely access all areas of Sudan, that is the time when long-term international development support will be made available. That is the precondition for a successful donors' conference: an environment that can convince the international community that the best possible use will be made of donor resources, for the benefit of every Sudanese.

The international community will come well prepared to the table at a donors' conference. Plans for assistance to the Sudan after the war have been an integral part of the efforts to bring about a political solution. Throughout the IGAD effort, the international donor community, through the IGAD Partners Forum (IPF), has been engaged for the last four years in preparations for assistance, in parallel with its support for the peace process. The parties to the conflict have been involved in these preparations every step of the way and are fully aware of the rewards that are likely to result from the signing of a comprehensive peace deal.

The Oslo donors' conference will address the construction and development of the whole of Sudan. In fact, this could be our best prepared post-war donor process so far. In September, at the IPF meeting in Oslo, the Sudanese parties, including those from Darfur, met with the donor community, including China, the African Union and the Arab League, to discuss preparations for assistance to a future Sudan. The meeting confirmed that the IPF will be the forum for donor coordination and widened the circle of support for assistance to the new Sudan.

Successful planning does not always translate into successful action. However, I believe that, if we stick to our plans, the Sudan has an excellent chance of success. The Sudan can be rebuilt, but only with massive national and international efforts. The new Government structure — the Sudanese — must deliver on their promises, and we as donors must deliver on ours: no empty promises, only delivery.

In the Sudan we are not starting from scratch. We are not starting from zero. We are starting from minus 39: 39 years of war and destruction. In the south, millions have been forced to flee their homes, infrastructure is destroyed and the basic structure of society is non-existent. In Darfur, the destruction is overwhelming. In most of the Sudan, poverty is at a level that will require years of international engagement. The Sudanese parties and the international community have an enormous task ahead. We cannot afford to repeat past mistakes from other post-conflict areas of the world.

We know from experience that peace is fragile. It needs attention, protection and nurturing. We also know that history overflows with examples of promising peace efforts gone awry, opportunities missed and mistakes made. In fact, more than half of all peace agreements fail and the parties slide back into war. Ironically enough, donors, in spite of the best intentions, have sometimes contributed to this. We have to learn from our mistakes.

These are some of the dangers: lack of coordination between donors, when national or organizational pride is allowed to take precedence over results on the ground; lack of country ownership, when the country's Government and population are relegated to being spectators unable to take the steering wheel in a process that should be theirs; and lack of long-term commitment from donors, when donors compete to assist for a short period after the peace is made — another photo opportunity — only to disappear when the next crisis demands attention.

In the Sudan, we will pay dearly if these mistakes are repeated. Because of the unique features of this

conflict, such mistakes will have more serious consequences here than in most other parts of the world. It is imperative that we as donors take note of lessons learned. If we fail, the consequences will be devastating, not only for the Sudanese people, but for the entire region. We may have only this one chance to do it right. The Sudanese leaders and the international community have an obligation to make it work. That is why we need a united international partner group, closely coordinated with the Sudanese parties and the post-war Sudan Government. That is also why we need close cooperation between the United Nations and the World Bank, and United Nations agencies that work in harmony. It is why we welcome the ongoing efforts of the United Nations and the World Bank to create joint multi-donor trust funds in close cooperation with the parties and key donors. It is why we are making plans for joint operations and joint donor offices, preparing for a level of coordination and cooperation never seen before.

In the Sudan, there is no room for solo players. Lack of coordination between donors not only leads to a waste of resources, but can also open the way for manipulation that reverses, rather than advances, the process.

We as donors cannot risk becoming pawns in a game that we cannot control. This is why we want to set a new and higher standard for our work in a future Sudan — a standard of coordination that can serve as a reference in other post-conflict areas.

The parties have agreed to a model of asymmetric federalism. That will ensure far-reaching autonomy for the southern region. However, the imbalance between north and south in social, political and economic development lies at the heart of the civil war, and must be addressed by the United Nations and other donors. The complexity of the peace agreement and the special arrangements for the interim period must be reflected in our joint efforts.

The United Nations work plan for next year must be owned by the Sudanese parties. It must form an integral part of our joint planning engagement. Sudanese ownership means ownership by both the new Government structure and the population. It means cooperation with the different levels of authority. Development assistance should play a strategic role, strengthening peace in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the agreement, rewarding progress and ensuring stability. And we must have staying capacity. Donors must be committed to a long-term process, making sure that the Sudan remains a priority until not only peace, but also prosperity, has come within reach for the Sudanese people.

Even a peaceful Sudan cannot be rebuilt in a year or two. Decades of destruction may demand decades of construction — of buildings, institutions and people's lives. In order to do our part, we must agree on some ground rules for our assistance and cooperation. If we know that aid will be spent wisely, the donor community will provide the necessary funds. But to get the most out of every development dollar, we must cooperate and we must coordinate. Turf wars cost money; they may even cost us the peace.

I ask the Security Council to send a clear signal to the United Nations Sudan mission and all of the agencies, as well as to all other donors, multilateral as well as bilateral, to coordinate their efforts closely within the United Nations system, within the donor community and with the relevant Sudanese authorities, and not to lower their flags. This principle should be reflected in the Council's resolutions and in preparations for the forthcoming donors conference.

We must start by mobilizing resources for the enormous task of building a stable and secure Sudan – the biggest country in Africa. Our pledges will be based on solid documentation, such as that already provided by the Joint Assessment Mission. Separately, we must also reach a common understanding among key actors about how to handle Sudan's heavy debt burden. The solution must be broad in scope, and it must include non-Paris Club members. The Oslo conference must not be overshadowed by the debt issue, and should concentrate on new aid flows to underpin the peace. In parallel with the preparation for Oslo, therefore, a process to deal with the debt issue will be established.

We also need more donors. I am hopeful that future donor partnership in the Sudan will include new, non-traditional participants. We must urge all donors to pledge generously and — not least — to stick to their promises. Norway will be honoured to invite the Sudanese parties and the wider donor community to the first donor conference for the Sudan as soon as peace agreements have been signed and the humanitarian situation in Darfur is under control. At this meeting in Nairobi, the Security Council has emphasized its

commitment to the Sudan. The United Nations and the entire international community will be ready to assist the Sudan as soon as the Sudanese leaders have completed the negotiations. The Sudanese people and the rest of the world are waiting for the parties to demonstrate the leadership necessary to finish the job and to prepare for peace.

In view of the urgency of the situation, I would like to make a suggestion. In the sprit of goodwill demonstrated by both leaders yesterday and today, and in order to maintain the momentum, I wish to suggest that Ali Othman Taha and John Garang advance their schedules and meet five days before they had intended to so that they can start the job quickly. They need every minute. The people of the Sudan have suffered too much for too long. The lives of millions are at stake, and they can put an and to that situation now.

The President: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I give the floor to Ambassador Samir Hosni, Director of African Administration and African-Arab Cooperation of the League of Arab States.

Mr. Hosni (*spoke in Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to make a statement on behalf of Mr. Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, who is unable to participate in this important and historic meeting.

Given the great importance of this issue to our member States and to Arab security, the League of Arab States is resolved to promote peace and national reconciliation in the Sudan. This issue has long been on the agenda of the League, which is actively working to find a comprehensive peaceful solution to the situation in the Sudan. With regard to the issue of the southern Sudan, following the signing of the Machakos Protocol in July 2002 — which was welcomed by the League of Arab States at the time — the League has been focusing on a number of areas.

First, at the political level, we have been promoting the peace process and the negotiations between the Sudanese Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and urging them promptly to conclude and sign a comprehensive peace agreement. The Secretary General of the League of Arab States participated in the signing last June of the Nairobi peace declaration. He also visited the city of Rumbek in southern Sudan last year as a guest of the SPLM, and reaffirmed the commitment of the League and its member States to the peace process, as well as its determination, together with that of its institutions, to actively participate in developing southern Sudan, particularly the war-affected areas, in order to make Sudanese unity an attractive, voluntary option.

Secondly, we have concentrated our efforts on the development of southern Sudan. Those efforts have led to significant pledges of financial support by member States — Arab funds that are awaiting the signing of the final comprehensive peace agreement. It gives me great pleasure to inform the Council that the monetary value of development projects now under way in southern Sudan amount to over $200 million. These projects are focusing on rebuilding the infrastructure, particularly the road network connecting the north and the south, as well as on skill-development programmes in southern Sudan, in cooperation with Arab civil society organizations.

Thirdly, in order to promote peace, reconstruction and development efforts in all parts of the Sudan, the Arab Summit meeting held last May in Tunisia called upon Arab States and Arab financing funds to address the heavy debt burden of the Sudan. That burden has now reached over $65 billion, 40 per cent of which is owed to Arab countries and funds.

Fourthly, the League of Arab States is working through one of its specialized agencies, the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation, to finance an investment project guarantee fund in southern Sudan to expedite Arab efforts to develop that part of the country and to provide the necessary guarantees for secure investment.

Ending the long-standing conflict in southern Sudan is now more of a concrete reality than ever before, especially after today's signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). We call upon the parties to sign a comprehensive peace agreement by the end of this year. We also reaffirm our readiness to provide the necessary support through our agencies to guarantee the full implementation of the expected agreement.

Fifthly, the time allotted to me here does not make it possible to enumerate the various political and humanitarian efforts being undertaken by the League of Arab States with regard to the crisis in Darfur. However, last August we discussed the situation in

Darfur at the ministerial level against the backdrop of the report prepared by a fact-finding mission of the League of Arab States to Darfur and eastern Chad. The Chairman of the Commission of the African Union and the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the Sudan, Mr. Jan Pronk, and the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, acting as the representative of President Obasanjo in his capacity as the Chairman of the African Union, all participated in the ceasefire monitoring group and in the protection forces sent to Darfur. In that context, we have also participated actively in mediation efforts between the Government of the Sudan, the SPLM and the Sudan Justice and Equality Movement. That led to this month's signing of the two protocols on security and humanitarian issues. We are also part of the joint mechanisms between the Sudanese Government and the United Nations that are carrying out the necessary assessment of the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur.

Sixthly, addressing the crisis in Darfur requires full compliance on the part of all parties with the ceasefire signed in N'Djamena last April, as well as with the two protocols on security and humanitarian issues signed recently at Abuja, in order to produce the necessary positive effects that will lead to an improvement in the humanitarian and security situation in Darfur. Dealing with that crisis also requires positive cooperation with the African Union mission in order to conclude the necessary agreements in the upcoming negotiations, which seek to pave the way to a final and comprehensive settlement of the issue. However, that will require full and strong financial, technical and logistical support for the African Union's efforts from the international community. The humanitarian situation in Darfur makes it incumbent upon all of us to provide the necessary support. The League of Arab States will spare no effort to provide all forms of support to the African Union, in particular in the humanitarian field. We would also like to convey our readiness to take part, through our member States and the various Arab financial and investment funds, in the reconstruction of what has been destroyed in Darfur.

In conclusion, I must also welcome the positive developments in the national reconciliation process in Somalia, in particular the establishment of a transitional Parliament, the election of Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmad as President and the appointment of various ministers. Those are all necessary steps towards realizing peace and stability in Somalia in a way that preserves the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the country. We call upon all factions, stakeholders and segments of Somalia's population to work in good faith and cooperate positively with the President-elect and the upcoming Government so as to establish peace, security and prosperity and help regain the country's status in the international community. We call upon all Somali factions to behave responsibly, and to put the interests of their country first. We warn that, in the absence of commitment, the agreements will not be implemented.

Finally, I would like to thank all the members of the Council for their invaluable contributions.

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I now call on the representative of Japan.

Mr. Sato (Japan): Let me begin by thanking Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his statement to the Council yesterday on the situation in the Sudan. I would also like to thank the President for his creative and timely initiative to organize this important meeting.

In the past two years, in my capacity as Ambassador in charge of conflict and refugee-related issues in Africa, I have visited the Sudan five times. My most recent visit took place in September, when I went to Darfur and eastern Chad as a member of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) donor mission led by High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers. The refugees and internally displaced persons whom I met eagerly hope to return to their homes as soon as circumstances permit. However, what is crucial in that regard is not only to assist them in their return, but also to make their return sustainable and to create an environment in which they are, first and foremost, able to feed themselves. The peace process must be advanced in the Sudan as a whole. I would like to discuss three points in that connection.

First, Japan has been monitoring with great interest the developments in the negotiations taking place here in Nairobi aimed at reaching a comprehensive peace agreement in the Sudan. As an incoming member of the Council, Japan is determined to assume a constructive role in the discussions aimed at the establishment of a United Nations peace-support operation in the Sudan. Japan urges the parties to the north-south conflict to immediately end their civil war

and to strive for national reconciliation and reconstruction. We fervently hope that a comprehensive peace agreement will be reached by the end of this year, at the latest. It is for that reason that we welcome the adoption of today's Security Council resolution.

Through the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), we have been advocating the importance of ownership by African countries and partnership with the international community to promote Africa's development. In this context, Japan highly appreciates the initiatives taken by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Naivasha peace process, as well as those taken by the African Union in the Abuja peace negotiations and its dispatch of a monitoring mission to the Sudan.

Thirdly, Japan places importance on providing assistance in a seamless manner in post-conflict situations during the transition from the emergency humanitarian assistance phase to that of development assistance. In order to achieve that objective, it is crucial that the parties to the conflict demonstrate their genuine commitment to the development of the Sudan by signing and actually implementing the comprehensive peace agreement.

I would like to take this opportunity to briefly touch upon the situation in Darfur. In order to resolve the ongoing humanitarian crisis, all the parties involved in the conflict must adhere to their commitment to establish security by immediately halting the violence, protecting the civilian population and giving their full cooperation to the African Union mission. In this regard, Japan welcomes the signing of the protocols on the improvement of the humanitarian situation and on the enhancement of the security situation in Darfur. It is essential that the parties redouble their efforts to bring about the political solution to crisis in Darfur. Alleviating the suffering of the vulnerable segments of the population such as refugees and internally displaced persons is a key element of Japan's response to the crisis in the Sudan, which is focused on promoting human security. Based on this concern over the humanitarian crisis and from the viewpoint of human security, Japan had dispatched a survey mission to eastern Chad as early as last May.

In his address before the United Nations General Assembly this year, our Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, pledged to provide humanitarian assistance for Darfur in the amount of $21 million. Japan has acted speedily to fulfil that pledge by providing steady assistance to the refugees and displaced persons in the Sudan and eastern Chad through various international organizations, including the UNHCR, the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Additionally, we have provided in-kind assistance of 700 tents for the Sudanese refuges in Chad in response to the request of the UNHCR.

Security Council members must continue to speak in one voice and in sending a strong message to the parties to the conflict if we are to achieve and consolidate peace in the Sudan. Allow me to close by emphasizing that Japan, together with the members of the Council and others in the international community, is ready to make an active contribution to the consolidation of peace and economic development in the Sudan.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Netherlands, Adriaan Kooijmans, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Kooijmans (Netherlands): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The countries aligning themselves with this statement are the candidate countries Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Croatia, the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro, and the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland and Norway.

The European Union is grateful for the opportunity to participate in this meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi. The fact that the meeting takes place in the region clearly signals the commitment of the international community to help the people of the Sudan attain lasting peace and stability. The EU would like to pay tribute to both the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union for their untiring efforts, both politically as well as on the ground, to bring peace to the Sudan.

The European Union welcomes the resolution that the Security Council has just adopted. It joins the Council in urging both the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan Popular Liberation Movement/Army to conclude the discussions on outstanding issues

expeditiously, to speedily conclude a comprehensive peace agreement and to implement it without delay. In this respect, the EU welcomes the signing of the declaration on the conclusion of IGAD's negotiations on peace in the Sudan and the parties' commitment to reach a final, comprehensive agreement before the end of this year.

The European Union stands ready to assist the Sudan in the reconstruction and development of the country, on the understanding that the parties sign and implement a comprehensive peace agreement and fulfil all their commitments, including those on Darfur. Under the European Development Fund alone, €400 million have been earmarked for the Sudan. In this respect, the European Union will also cooperate closely with the United Nations and the other donors.

Concluding a peace agreement will not only bring an end to the long-lasting conflict between the north and the south that has cost so many lives and has inflicted tremendous human suffering, but also could provide a political platform for addressing the underlying causes of ongoing conflicts in the Sudan, including in Darfur. The crisis in Darfur can be resolved only through a negotiated settlement that tackles the root causes of the conflict. In this respect, the European Union looks forward to an early signature of the declaration of principles. The EU has also welcomed the signing of the humanitarian and security protocols in Abuja. However, progress made at the negotiating table has not been reflected yet in tangible progress on the ground. The EU notes with grave concern that the situation in Darfur has further deteriorated in recent weeks due to ceasefire violations and continued attacks on civilians.

The responsibility to protect the civilian population of Darfur rests first of all with the Government of the Sudan. The European Union is concerned that the Government has not fulfilled many of its obligations under Security Council resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004), in particular disarming the Janjaweed and other militia groups, as well as bringing perpetrators of human rights violations to justice. At the same time, the rebel groups, by stepping up their attacks, have contributed to an escalation in insecurity and human suffering. The EU will continue to exert pressure on both sides and will take appropriate measures, as contemplated in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter, if no tangible progress is achieved in this respect.

The European Union once again urges both sides to abide strictly by the ceasefire agreement, strongly condemns all attacks on civilians, in particular ongoing cases of rape, and reiterates that those responsible will be held accountable for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in order to end impunity. The EU joins the Security Council in calling upon all parties to cooperate with the United Nations commission of inquiry.

The European Union is ready to assist the Government of the Sudan to meet the challenges it will face in implementing its obligations. We welcome the Government's agreement to the rapid expansion of the mission of the African Union, which the EU and its member States have facilitated by a contribution of more than €100 million, in addition to an earlier contribution of nearly €18 million when the operation was first launched.

It is essential that the African mission in the Sudan also receive all the support needed to ensure its rapid and full deployment and effective operationalization. In line with Council resolution 1556 (2004), in which the United Nations advance mission in the Sudan is requested to include contingency planning for Darfur in its work, the EU welcomes the further cooperation and exchange of experiences and expertise between the United Nations advance mission and the African mission in the Sudan.

The European Union and its member States have also made a considerable contribution to humanitarian assistance, amounting to over €320 million, in 2004. As the number of internally displaced persons is still growing, additional assistance is needed. The European Union therefore calls on all United Nations Member States to respond generously to additional appeals for assistance by the United Nations and by the international humanitarian agencies.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Australia, Mr. George Atkin, High Commissioner of Australia to Kenya, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Atkin (Australia): Thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to address the Council on the situation in the Sudan. It is my honour to speak on behalf of New Zealand and my own country, Australia.

The Governments of New Zealand and Australia continue to be gravely concerned about the ongoing conflicts in the Sudan and the deteriorating humanitarian and human rights conditions in Darfur. We welcome this special meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi, and we urge the Council to take every possible step to resolve the conflicts in the Sudan, which have had such terrible effects on people throughout the country.

With respect to the north-south conflict, we commend the Security Council for its efforts to support the urgent conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement. After 21 years of civil war, the current negotiations offer a real opportunity for a comprehensive political solution to the problems in the Sudan. The devastating conflict in Darfur is glaring evidence of the risks of continued instability, and there is no time to waste. We are heartened by the signature this morning of the memorandum of understanding to conclude a final settlement by the end of this year, and we urge the Council to maintain pressure on all parties at this critical stage.

Our countries are deeply concerned at reports that the situation in Darfur is deteriorating yet further. We are appalled by reports of horrific atrocities committed against the civilian population of Darfur in recent months. Let me be clear that we look to all parties to the conflict to immediately prevent further attacks on civilians.

We welcome the agreement on humanitarian and security protocols reached among the Government of the Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army and the Justice and Equality Movement, and we call on the parties to implement their commitments without delay. The parties must be under no illusion about the seriousness with which the international community sees the situation in Darfur, and they must respond quickly and meaningfully.

Our countries are making a contribution to international efforts to resolve the crisis in the Sudan through the provision of substantial funding for United Nations operations, support for the African Union's mission and humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict. We applaud the African Union for its proactive role in resolving the crisis in Darfur, and we welcome the decision to expand the African Union's monitoring mission to Darfur. The international community must make every effort to ensure the success of the African Union mission to Darfur. Our Governments offer their full support to that mission.

The Governments of New Zealand and Australia will continue to support efforts to find a lasting solution to the multiple crises in the Sudan. Only sustained, coordinated international action will bring those conflicts to an end.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5083

Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5083rd meeting

Friday, 19 November 2004, 2.30 p.m.

Nairobi

President:	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Landerretche
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

04-61875 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I give the floor to His Excellency, Mr. Bethuel Kiplagat, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development facilitator, in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Kiplagat: Let me add my warm welcome to you, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, for coming to Nairobi and for agreeing to discuss and to hear reports from us on Somalia.

First, we express great joy over the fact that two years of work on peace and reconciliation and the formation of Government have now been concluded with the election of a President, the formation of parliament and the appointment of a Prime Minister. When we look back over these two years, we see many obstacles that we had to face — perhaps the most difficult and important of which was our own scepticism, as Somalis, and that of the international community since, it will be recalled, 13 previous attempts had been made, all without success.

So everybody has been asking us the difference between what we are doing now and what had been done in the past. The only thing we can say is that there are a number of factors that make us believe that this time around we have a greater chance that the peace agreement will be durable and stable.

One important factor was the presence of all the major stakeholders during the two years of negotiations, all the major faction leaders. We brought in traditional leaders, who are here; leaders of the people in the diaspora and of civil society; religious leaders; and, more importantly, regional and international actors. We believe, therefore, that the presence of all these stakeholders augurs well for the creation of a durable, stable Government.

So that is the first thing that we need to take note of — the presence of these stakeholders. But I would like you Mr. President to underline the importance of the regional stakeholders — the member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It was their cohesion, their vision, their commitment to working on the peace process that really brought us to the position that we are in today.

The second thing to note is the way in which the Parliament was selected. We believe this institution is very important in the way it was crafted, with the participation of all the major political groupings of Somalia — not only clans, but also sub-sub-clans: close to 89, representing all the regions of Somalia. The process was not easy. It took time, but in the end they came out with the names and the lists from their sub-sub-clans. Again, I believe that this is good news in the sense that there is representation right across the board. It was a selection process, and the role played by traditional and factional leaders, as well as by political leaders, was very crucial in ensuring that we have an all-inclusive Parliament.

The third aspect I wish to mention is that of the election of the Speaker, other officials and the President. This was carried out by the participants in a very transparent manner. It took us a long time — in some cases, 12 to 15 hours — of peaceful voting, and we believe that the process not only reflected participation but also ensured that the people who have been elected enjoy the support of Parliament. We cannot say that this is the same as enjoying the support of the whole country, but their participation is absolutely crucial to say the least.

Looking ahead to the future, those ingredients — of Parliament being present, of the participation of the traditional leaders and of the process of elections — give us optimism and hope that we will be able to stabilize the country. What is in store for Somalia in the coming weeks and months? The first thing is the continuation of the reconciliation process: the process has not yet been completed. The message of hope from Nairobi needs to be taken all the way to the ground. The Somalis and IGAD, have therefore made the issue of peace-building the priority, to ensure that everything else will follow as a result.

Of course, there is also the reconstruction of the State, and particularly of Somali democratic institutions. All of this, however, will depend on security. Security is absolutely crucial to enable the Government to move forward. Hence, we believe that

it is of the utmost importance that the issue of security for the Government be discussed and debated, and, hopefully, that we will get the support of the Security Council and that of the international community.

Let us hope that the scepticism of the past will be left behind, and let us hold on to hope for Somalia. That is what is needed today.

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Ali Abdi Farah, Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Parliamentary Relations of Djibouti.

Mr. Farah (Djibouti) (*spoke in French*): First of all, may I congratulate Ambassador Danforth most warmly on his assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November. I would also like once more to congratulate him on the crucial role he played in the Security Council's decision to hold these special meetings in the region and to take up a matter that is of considerable importance not only to the region and to Africa, but also to the international community as a whole. We are particularly grateful to all the members of the Council, who agreed to include on the agenda of these historic meetings the important issue of Somalia.

This special meeting of the Security Council is taking place just a little more than a month after the Somalis, the region, the African continent and the whole world celebrated the swearing in of the new transitional President of Somalia, His Excellency Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, who is here with us today. That happy event was welcomed by Somalis and by the international community. It was a tremendous achievement, made possible thanks to the determination of the Somali people, who, enduring many long and dark years, never stopped hoping and working for real change in their lives. They understood that, within the context of the peace process begun by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the opportunity was provided to put an end to the deep gloom of night and to lay the foundations for institutions that would enable Somalia to be reborn.

This achievement was made possible also by the perseverance of IGAD member States, which committed themselves to developing a consistent, agreed and collective approach, guided by a sincere desire to act together in solidarity with the people of Somalia.

I should like to take this opportunity to extend our sincere thanks to the Government of Kenya and to our Kenyan brothers and sisters, whose sacrifices and commitment should be acknowledged. We also thank the international community for its constant financial and political support for our joint efforts, which was decisive in enabling the process to be successful.

I cannot mention all those who contributed to this success, but there are some I must mention because of the crucial part they played and continue to play. The African Union has been unfailingly committed to us and has given momentum to efforts to prepare for the deployment of a peacekeeping force in Somalia. We pay tribute to the European Union for its political and financial support; we are counting on it to help Somalia jump start its economy, with a view to attaining sustainable development. We are particularly encouraged by the constant support of the United States in this process. The contribution of the League of Arab States was decisive at a critical stage of the process, and it goes without saying that its material and financial support will also be essential in the future. And, of course, we must stress in particular the constant commitment of the United Nations and the resolve of the Secretary-General. We pay particular tribute to the Security Council's very significant decision to come to the region to learn more about the situation and to better understand the scope of the challenges facing the new Somali Government.

The results of the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, held at Mbagathi, must enable us to assess the changes that have taken place and the prospects they offer in terms of the emergence of an era of stability, security and freedom in Somalia, the beneficial impact of which will be felt throughout the region. But much remains to be done before that promise is realized. The road is fraught with pitfalls. The challenges are huge. Continued support from Africa and from the international community will determine our success. Among those challenges, one cannot emphasize enough the urgent need to find a lasting solution to the problem of the mass circulation of weapons in Somalia and to its grave security consequences.

The negative effects that weapons have had at the economic, social and political levels are immeasurable. They have contributed to the emergence of a weapons culture and to the establishment of an atmosphere of fear. Those who possess them have a false feeling of

security, because they have the capacity to defend themselves in case they are attacked by hostile forces. Accordingly, the pressure to acquire weapons is even greater on those who do not possess them. The result is an arms race whose devastating effects — including disease and poverty — are felt at many levels because the resources mobilized to that end are immense and could be allocated instead to vital sectors.

In particular, weapons proliferation poses a serious threat to the results of the Conference — particularly during the first six months, when the new Government, to establish its legitimacy, must respond to the immense expectations of the Somali population and must promote visible and significant change. The IGAD peace process is aimed at identifying the underlying causes of the conflict in Somalia; finding, to the extent possible, adequate responses to them; signing a declaration on the cessation of hostilities; and including all essential actors, including the significant components of civil society — because it controls a large quantity of weapons and militias — and businessmen.

Thus, the transitional parliament is the institution within which all clans, factions and interest groups are represented, which is a first. However, the many initiatives we have undertaken will be seen as weak and poorly supported attempts unless they are accompanied by a serious, viable and well-performing programme aimed at disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating the militias. The new Government cannot carry out that task alone. It will need assistance from the Security Council and the international community in the form of the deployment of peacekeeping troops to ensure a peaceful transition, which will permit the emergence of a lasting peace, security and stability in Somalia.

In that regard, we welcome the preparation efforts of the African Union Commission, which has sent several observation missions to Somalia. We note with satisfaction the initiative of the African Union — in partnership with IGAD, the Federal Transitional Government of Somalia and all international actors with expertise in this area — to organize a meeting of military and political experts mandated with assessing the security situation in order to complete the process of preparing for the deployment of troops. It goes without saying that such an initiative will require immense resources. Experience justifies and reinforces the basic premise that investment in peace is always less costly than war.

Our common objective remains preventing the outbreak of conflict through mechanisms of preventive diplomacy. Many regions throughout the world continue to be devastated by endless cycles of conflict aggravated by a lack of serious attention on the part of the international community. The consequences are disastrous — the collapse of State institutions, poverty, instability, social disintegration — and provide a framework where one can freely mobilize allegiances in terrorist networks and other Mafia-like structures involved in transnational organized crime.

Therefore, it seems obvious that the Council must demonstrate greater sensitivity towards poor countries engaged in deadly and devastating conflicts. In that regard, we encourage the Council to significantly and decisively recommit itself in Somalia and to make every effort to ensure that the great progress achieved is not lost.

As we urge the Somalis to be vigilant and to strive to consolidate the success achieved, we must seize the opportunity offered to the international community — particularly in the post-9/11 context — to help the Somalis rebuild their nation and put development programmes in place. We cannot allow our many decisions and valiant efforts to lead to lukewarm results, because that would undoubtedly be a historic setback.

I am convinced that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, will devote all due attention to this issue so that Somalia can once again find its place in the international community.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. John Koech, Minister for East African Regional Cooperation of Kenya, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Koech (Kenya): I take this opportunity to thank the Security Council for having decided to hold this meeting in Africa, particularly in Nairobi. We understand that this is only the fourth time that the Security Council has met outside New York. That is indeed a great honour for us as a country, and we believe that it is in recognition of Kenya's commitment and role as a peacemaker in the region.

On behalf of the ministers of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD),

responsible for the Somali peace process, I take this opportunity to thank the Security Council for dedicating this meeting to the critical issue of peace and security in Somalia. The Council's decision to include the issue of Somalia on its agenda in Nairobi is a clear indication of the importance it attaches to the maintenance of peace and security in Somalia and further underscores the Council's commitment in the Horn of Africa.

I would like to report to the Council that the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, which was launched two years ago, has successfully concluded with the election of His Excellency The Honourable Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as President of the Federal Transitional Government of the Republic of Somalia. I would also like to inform the Council that the peace process has achieved tremendous progress by establishing an all-inclusive transitional federal parliament and through the initial formation of a broad-based Government that saw the election of a President and the appointment of a Prime Minister.

The IGAD member States, with the support of the IGAD Partners Forum, have successfully steered the Somali peace process. Despite those achievements, we face the very critical and delicate situation of stabilizing the security situation inside Somalia before the Federal Government can relocate. I would like to ask the Security Council to assist in the establishment of an appropriate mechanism to facilitate the relocation of the Federal Government of Somalia.

I wish to recall that in their statements to the Council yesterday President Yoweri Museveni, Chairman of the tenth Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and President Mwai Kibaki, facilitator of the Somali peace process, appealed for assistance to help with the relocation of the Somali Government from Nairobi to Somalia.

I wish also to recall that the IGAD Special Summit on Somalia appealed to the Security Council to take immediate action to deploy a peacekeeping mission in Somalia, to assist in securing the new Government and to help train security forces for Somalia. We appeal to the Security Council to support the initiative being taken by the African Union in conjunction with IGAD, to deploy a peace restoration and protection force in Somalia.

We call upon the Security Council and the entire international community to give consideration to imposing sanctions on any person or group engaging in activities that could affect the gains made by the peace process so far and that could affect the functioning of the new Government inside Somalia. Finally, we request the Security Council to mandate all IGAD member States to remain engaged in the process of reconciliation, peacekeeping and peace-building in Somalia until the situation has stabilized.

To enable us to achieve a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Somali situation and to consolidate the gains made by the peace process, there is an urgent need for the deployment of a restoration and protection force in Somalia to undertake disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

It is our hope, as a region, that the Security Council will come up with a resolution on Somalia that will assure the development of appropriate mechanisms for the creation of an environment conducive to the establishment of stability and peace in Somalia, in order to enable the new Government to relocate inside Somalia.

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ambassador Kongit Sinegiorgis, representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia.

Ms. Sinegiorgis (Ethiopia): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to say a few words on the question of Somalia. Actually, I do not have much to add after the comprehensive statements made by my senior colleagues, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Djibouti and of Kenya, but let me briefly add my voice by emphasizing that Somalia today is at a critical stage, after having gone through a devastating national crisis.

We are all aware that the situation of statelessness for the last 14 years has had a devastating effect on the people of Somalia, on the region and on the international community as a whole. Therefore, what has been achieved after a protracted peace process should never be allowed to falter or be reversed. Hence, it is highly important to realize that the tasks of the reconciliation process are not over, and that we cannot expect the going to be easy.

In that regard, the task ahead, to say the least, is very daunting indeed. In our view, the major concern of the new Government should be to establish itself inside Somalia as speedily as possible. As was said by the Ministers, and as I am sure is obvious to the Security Council, that task can be accomplished only with the continued and active support of the international community. The new Government of Somalia is faced with the Herculean task of rebuilding the State from scratch; in that effort, the major hurdle will be the security situation of the country. In that regard, my delegation supports the statement of Mr. Kiplagat.

Let me also add that in order to ensure the security of the country, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the various militias is an absolute necessity. Therefore, the deployment of a peace support and protection force is also absolutely necessary.

There is also an immediate need to rehabilitate the seat of the Government and its institutions, as a whole. In that connection, although the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union have their role to play, it is imperative that, given the limited resources and capacity at their disposal, the United Nations be more engaged in Somalia than it has been in the past two years.

The response of the international community to the needs of Somalia has to be commensurate with the gigantic nature of the challenge involved. At the present stage, Somalia deserves a great deal of attention from the region, the African Union and the United Nations. In particular, the United Nations should and must take a lead role in assisting the Somalis to keep up the momentum of the process they have now embarked upon in reconstructing and re-establishing the Somali State from the ground up. This is a crucial moment for the Somalis, the region and the international community. It must be reiterated, again and again, that the success of the Somali peace process is in the direct interest of the international community.

While we are all grateful for the support rendered to the peace process during the past two years by the international community in general, and by the European Union in particular, we feel it is time that the United Nations assumed greater responsibility. The role we are expecting from the United Nations is not that of an incremental engagement, but an active involvement in helping the new Government establish itself in the country. No doubt, that is a process that should be led by the transitional federal Government of Somalia, but the full and unswerving support of the international community cannot be overemphasized.

In that regard, we are happy to note that the international community, at the recent Stockholm meeting on Somalia, recommitted itself to provide structured diplomatic, political, technical and financial support. Such structured engagement by the international community is expected to be coordinated by the United Nations. In the view of my delegation, this should be supported and endorsed by the Security Council.

I would like to conclude my brief remarks by saying that it is a unique opportunity that the Security Council is today discussing the situation in Somalia at the place where the new Government was born. In the past, the crisis in Somalia has been a source of frustration for all of us, but now there is a ray of hope. Let us all stand together to help Somalis help themselves.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, President of the Somali Transitional Federal Government, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

President Ahmed: Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your recent assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I have no doubt as to your able leadership and wisdom in guiding the deliberations of the Security Council to a fruitful conclusion.

I wish also to extend my thanks to your predecessor for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council last month.

I am very glad that the Security Council is seized of the Somali issue.

I wish also to take note of the appeal of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, which is contained in his report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of sustainable development in Africa. In that regard, I should like to commend the proactive engagement of the Security Council in conflict-prone areas of Africa. Let me encourage the Council to continue and further that engagement.

We are equally thankful for the Council's continued interest in Somalia, and in particular for its support to the Somali national reconciliation process.

The will of the Somali people was manifested in the current all-inclusive political settlement and the creation of the national federal Government. The leaders of the armed factions are included in the new Parliament.

We request the international community to assist us in making sure that these leaders abide by their commitments and national obligations. We have succeeded in bringing about a political settlement and we are in the process of establishing the basic institutions of governance. However, the most difficult challenges lie ahead.

Restoration of peace and security throughout Somalia is one of the first challenges of the new Somali Government. However, this new Government possesses no trained army, no organized police or any other security personnel at the moment. Based on past experience, it is incumbent upon the new Government to prepare a detailed plan for the mobilization and deployment of a stabilization force and the rehabilitation of the demobilizing militias. The Government is working on the two main objectives of consolidating reconciliation talks with the armed groups and realizing a tangible peace-building plan. I would like to reassure the Council that adequate preparations will be taken to ensure the success of the above-mentioned plans. In this context, we request the Council to take the necessary steps to phase in a peace-building mission, including the deployment of a stabilization force in Somalia, in the most immediate future.

We made a formal request to the African Union for a stabilization force, composed of 15,000 to 20,000 troops. The deployment of such a force is no way intended to impose the Government's will by force, and the necessary parliamentary approval will be sought by the Government at the right moment. Concurrently, we need a national security force composed of 20,000 to 30,000 troops, both police and army. They will be recruited, trained and equipped to take over from the peace-making force at the appropriate time.

There are many regions in Somalia that live in relative peace. A new Somali Government will work hard to maintain and further peace and stability in those areas. The Somali Government requests the assistance of the international community in sustaining reconciliation and reconstruction throughout the country.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation and thanks to member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) for their historic contribution to the success of the reconciliation process. We make a solemn promise to our IGAD brothers that we will work tirelessly to maintain peace in Somalia. Special thanks go to all IGAD partners in this forum that have contributed to this endeavour.

All the above-mentioned tasks required to bring about peace and security to Somalia would need substantial resources. The deployment of peace-making forces from brotherly countries and the creation of a national security force will require funding from the international community. Therefore, I would like to appeal to the members of the Security Council to take the necessary steps to raise the funding required. It is not expected that the Somali Government will generate revenue for some time. There is an urgent need for financial resources for the Government to function. I would like to request the Council to take the necessary measures to provide the financial and diplomatic support that is urgently needed. In conclusion, your support is critical.

The President: Thank you, Mr. President, for your statement. I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Aminu Wali, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and representative of the current Chair of the African Union, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Wali (Nigeria): Once again, I thank you for convening this meeting. I also thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his continued engagement in conflict resolution in Africa and in particular in the situation in Somalia.

The situation in Somalia continues to engage the attention of the international community and our organization since the early 1990s. We recall that in a presidential statement, issued in July 2004, the Security Council reiterated its firm support for the Somali national reconciliation process and the ongoing Somali National Reconciliation Conference in Kenya, launched under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and commended

the IGAD leaders and, in particular, the Government of Kenya for their efforts in the search for peace in Somalia.

The Council also commends the international observers for their active engagement in the process. The Council further welcomes the launching of Phase III of the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, and asks all parties to continue their efforts to move the process forward and agree on a durable and inclusive solution to the conflict in Somalia and the establishment of a Transitional Federal Government of Somalia.

The African Union reaffirms its support for that statement. It is gratifying to note that the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, with the support of IGAD leaders, has succeeded in establishing a Transitional Federal Government in Somalia. The African Union commends this achievement and reiterates its commitment to the peace process. We pay special tribute to the President and leaders of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and particularly to President Kibaki and the people of Kenya. Their dedicated and tireless peace initiatives in Somalia have led to the establishment of the Transitional Federal Government. We also acknowledge and commend the efforts and support of the United Nations, the African Union, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the European Union for this breakthrough.

In this connection we recall the communiqué of the eighteenth meeting of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, which welcomed the election of Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as President of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia. We call upon all Somali parties, including civil society, to extend their full support to the new Somali Government. We support the request by the new Government to the European Union, the League of Arab States, the United Nations and the international community as a whole to provide all necessary support to ensure its effective establishment in Mogadishu. In particular, we welcome the call for assistance for the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration programme, as well as for reconstruction, in Somalia.

We call on the international community to assist the Somali Government in finding its feet after many years during which the country has suffered without an established, credible Government. We also recall the earlier appeal by the Assembly of the African Union in its third ordinary session at Addis Ababa in July this year for the Security Council and the international community to support the Government of Somalia that would result from the Nairobi conference, with a view to the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reconciliation. We therefore call on the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia and other stakeholders to reach out to all Somalis to effect broad national reconciliation. We believe that all Somalis, who are stakeholders in the search for peace in their country must put aside all factional considerations and fully embrace dialogue.

On the issue of the humanitarian and development situation in Somalia, the most recent report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/804) is disturbing. The cumulative effect of four years of drought in the Sool Plateau in northern Somalia has destroyed livestock belonging to the local inhabitants. That has resulted in the decimation of livelihoods, indebtedness and the general stagnation of the economy. As a consequence, 667,000 people are in need of urgent assistance. Of that number, 261,000 are categorized as facing a humanitarian emergency and more than 355,000 are considered to be facing a livelihood crisis. These Somalis are likely to fall into the humanitarian emergency category if external assistance is not provided.

Although United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations have expanded their humanitarian operations to the drought-affected areas, much needs to be done. Increased international assistance will enable the Transitional Federal Government to address this humanitarian and development challenge effectively. We therefore urge the Security Council, particularly the international community, to contribute and to fulfil their pledges to the Somali Trust Fund, as that would ameliorate the complex humanitarian situation in the country.

The African Union welcomes the activities of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme, particularly in the area of creating an enabling environment for livestock and the meat industry, as well as in capacity-building, governance and support for urban sector improvement and city planning.

We note with grave concern the gloomy picture painted by the Secretary-General's report that the security situation in Somalia remains disturbing and alarming. As a result, Somalis in Mogadishu and north of the city continue to suffer as a result of violence, despite the end of the hostilities. We appeal to the parties concerned to lay down their arms and join the Transitional Federal Government with a view to rehabilitating their country.

Now that the United Nations and the international community have come this far in their efforts to usher in peace in Somalia, let us continue to lend our firm support and encouragement to the interim administration. We call on the United Nations to mobilize a massive peace-building, demobilization and rehabilitation programme for Somalia and to make adequate funds available for that purpose.

These are hopeful times for Somalia. The United Nations and the international community have waited for over a decade for this moment. We must not allow this opportunity to slip away. Somalia must never again be allowed to witness the horrors of the recent past. We therefore call on all Somalis to bury the hatchet in the spirit of reconciliation so as to ensure peace and stability in their country.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this open briefing of the Council this afternoon on the question of Somalia. This attests to the international community's attention to and concern about Somalia and demonstrates its valuable support for the efforts to promote peace made by Kenya and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). This will help to exert a positive influence over the peace process in Somalia.

I would also like to thank the IGAD facilitator and the foreign ministers of Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia, as well as the representative of the African Union, for their statements. I would like to express deep appreciation for their enormous contributions aimed at the achievement of reconciliation and the establishment of an effective Government.

Encouraging progress has been made recently in the Somali nationalization process, as can be seen from the establishment of the transitional federal parliament, the election of the speaker and President and the smooth process of appointing the Prime Minister. All of these developments have provided a real opportunity — and a solid basis — for achieving peace and stability in Somalia. We hope and believe that all the parties in Somalia take advantage of this opportunity and keep up the momentum by assuming their primary obligation and responsibility to restore peace and security, thus creating a favourable environment for the new Government.

We welcome the fact that President Yusuf Ahmed, President of the Transitional Government, has committed himself to the promotion of the nation's unity and reconciliation in a spirit of tolerance and inclusiveness. We sincerely hope that the Transitional Government, having overcome the many difficulties and challenges facing it, will soon be officially established and return to Somalia to begin the process of national reconstruction and economic development.

The African Union has called upon the international community to provide to the new Somali Government all necessary assistance, including for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

We believe that the international community should respond actively to the appeal of the African Union. We are pleased to see the convening of the symposium by the African Union on the plan for Somali stability in the transitional period, and we welcome the convening of the meeting of donor countries in Stockholm. We are in favour of the United Nations playing a coordinating role to achieve peace, and we look forward to the submission, at an appropriate date, by Secretary-General Kofi Annan of proposals to the Security Council.

China has been closely following the peace process in Somalia. In recent years it has been the facilitator in the Council on the question of Somalia. We have worked hard to facilitate the international community's efforts in mediating the conflict in Somalia. We have provided material assistance, within our means, for the peace and reconciliation conference, and have provided humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia and other supplies to the Transitional Government of Somalia. We hope to see national reconciliation, unity and the restoration of peace, stability and security achieved at an early date, and to that end we will work with the international community in continuing to play an active role.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): We greatly appreciate this opportunity to discuss Somalia with representatives of the Intergovernmental Authority on

Development (IGAD) and the African Union (AU), and we are grateful for the very useful briefings that they gave us.

This is also an excellent opportunity to thank IGAD for its outstanding and successful efforts in moving the Somali national reconciliation conference forward, as well as the AU for its willingness to undertake planning for an observer mission in Somalia.

Somali leaders have of course also contributed to the reconciliation process by their willingness to cooperate and work towards the goal of rebuilding Somalia. The formation of a transitional federal parliament and the election of the transitional President are a real breakthrough and a milestone on the road to peace. That gives rise to the hope that with this new momentum the reconciliation process can now be implemented by the Transitional Government in Somalia itself. We therefore very much welcome and appreciate the presence of President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Ghedi. It gives us an opportunity to discuss the road from here to peace in Somalia.

As our Ethiopian colleague has said, there are still daunting problems to overcome. Security throughout the country is a major concern, as is the humanitarian situation. The Transitional Government will be able to address those problems only if all Somali leaders agree to lay down their arms and cooperate with the Government in rebuilding the country, its totally destroyed infrastructure, its institutions and its economy. We therefore call upon the Transitional Government and Somali leaders to create an environment that will allow international aid to commence. President Yusuf has already acknowledged that the future political process will have to be broad and inclusive. We also hope that women will participate actively, and with adequate representation, in that process.

Rebuilding trust in the political processes and institutions will be necessary in order to deal constructively with issues such as the future status of Somaliland. The question of impunity and giving the victims of war and humanitarian crimes a chance to find redress are other problems that I am sure the people of Somalia will want to address. The continuing engagement of donors in the coming years, including the United Nations and the European Union, will be necessary to preserve and help along the progress that has been made thus far. China has introduced a draft presidential statement underlining the willingness of the international community to prepare for that engagement. We would like to thank the Chinese delegation for introducing that text, which we fully support.

Restoring the country will require the commitment of the international community. Let me therefore conclude by reiterating Germany's commitment to assist the peace process in Somalia as well as regional and subregional efforts in that regard. As a member of the Group of Friends of Somalia in the Security Council, Germany will continue to support the peace process through the European Union, which is by far the largest provider of resources in Somalia, as well as bilaterally by making available considerable financial, human and humanitarian resources and, in particular, by supporting the planned observer mission in Somalia.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): The recent positive turn of events in Somalia merits the Council's attention and consideration. We are grateful to the President for convening this public meeting.

Today's meeting here in Nairobi with the main stakeholders in the Somali peace process not only serves to enlighten us about the current state of affairs in the country, it also challenges the Council with regard to what it can do for Somalia. My delegation welcomes our guests and thanks them for their insights. We would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate President Yusuf on his election to the Somali presidency. We congratulate as well the representatives of the key players in the Somali peace process — the Foreign Minister of Djibouti, the representatives of Ethiopia and Kenya, the representative of the African Union and the facilitator of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) — for the successful Somali National Reconciliation Conference and for the successful role they have played in the Somali peace process. IGAD's patience and dedication in shepherding the process is an example that we should all commend, recognize and support. The political engagement of regional and subregional organizations is invaluable to secure peace, security and development. Those organizations enhance the formulation of a regional vision of security and participation in world affairs.

Work to assist Somalia needs to begin now, while the Somali peace process is being fully completed, and continue until a broad-based and inclusive Government is set up and installed in Somalia. The international community must support the Somali people as they embark on reconciliation and reconstruction and the re-establishment of peace and stability in their country. At this time, the attention and assistance of the international community should first be directed towards the newly established Somali national political institutions, for the viability of the Somali State depends upon their proper and effective functioning. Thus the support of the international community, including the Security Council, is of paramount importance in the consolidation and strengthening of those institutions. The international community's support should also be fully felt on the ground. We encourage donors to contribute to the rebuilding of Somalia and look forward to the full realization of the peace-building framework envisaged in the Security Council presidential statement issued in February 2004 (S/PRST/2004/3).

After supporting IGAD's efforts in the Somali peace process, the international community must now enlist the support of the African Union, particularly with regard to its initiative to deploy a peace support mission to Somalia. It will also be helpful to know when the cabinet of the Transitional Government will be fully constituted and whether there is a target time frame for the relocation of the Transitional Government to Somalia. As has been said, security is the biggest obstacle preventing the Transitional Government from relocating to Mogadishu. We have heard what assistance is required from the Security Council and the international community to that end. It will also be helpful to know what steps the Transitional Government is now taking on its own to address the security problem in Mogadishu, as well as what impact the arms embargo stipulated in resolution 751 (1992) has on the security situation and on the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement programme.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): My delegation is particularly grateful for and would like to express its satisfaction with the recent positive developments in the Somali peace process since the establishment of the transitional federal parliament and the election of the transitional President. We welcome this opportunity to hear directly from the leaders of Somalia, in particular from the President of the Republic, as we meet here in Nairobi.

The Security Council's meeting in Nairobi is very timely. We are meeting at the right moment, as clearly demonstrated by the presidential statement that we will adopt later, as proposed by China. This meeting also represents a boost to the Somali process and to the countries of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), whose cohesion has been pivotal to the results achieved thus far.

The people of Somalia now face the most challenging part of their long path to peace and stability, which is the implementation of the agreement in good faith. A number of speakers have stressed the need for adequate support for the process. We would like to join those speakers who indicated such a need.

In his report submitted to the Council last month (S/2004/804), the Secretary-General underlined the need for an expanded United Nations peace-building role and presence to assist the process. President Museveni also presented his view yesterday, of which we took due note. There is, therefore, a clear convergence of views on the need to support the Somali peace process. This calls for coordination between the African Union, IGAD, the United Nations and the League of Arab States, taking into account the responsibilities of each body. Furthermore, it can be successful only if Somalis are themselves fully involved. Particular attention should therefore be paid to the planning efforts underway involving the international community and the Somali people in formulating a peace-building framework for a rapid assistance package, as recommended by the Security Council.

The development aspect of the process is also fundamental for a long-lasting peace in Somalia. We therefore welcome the operational activities in support of peace being carried out by the United Nations, which are the basis for the work to be performed by an enhanced United Nations presence in that country. The national reconciliation and unity of Somalia should remain the backbone of these efforts.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Although my esteemed colleague from the Philippines has already read my notes, I will repeat some of those remarks. First of all, Pakistan warmly welcomes the progress that has been made in the Somali peace process. We commend the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

for this success and believe that it is an example that other regions can follow. We welcome the election of the parliament and the election of the President and the appointment of the Prime Minister.

We welcome President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed to the Security Council. We would like to add that we are very happy that the Council decided to discuss Somalia at this meeting in Nairobi; it is most appropriate that we should devote attention to this other critical conflict in this region.

We listened attentively to the statements by the IGAD facilitator, by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Djibouti and Kenya and by my friend, the Ethiopian envoy, and have taken due note of these statements. We hope that the presidential statement that the Council will adopt will reflect the sense that has been conveyed that we welcome the establishment of the Transitional Government and reaffirm our full support to the peace process.

It is obvious that security is a priority consideration, and the President has rightly underlined this aspect. Of course, a comprehensive security strategy will involve the consolidation of peace at the local level, the full process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the creation of the national army and, perhaps most importantly, a process of reconciliation that involves all Somalis, including those who have thus far remained outside of the peace process.

The President and other speakers have appealed for Security Council support for a stabilization force, and we note that the African Union's response to this has been positive. We hope the Council will be able to hold consultations on this request and that a viable response will be offered to give hope to the Somali people, who are proceeding so boldly on the path to peace.

Finally, Somalia must be given assistance to make the new Government functional. Such assistance should not wait for completion of the peace process but should, we believe, proceed simultaneously. The United Nations should assume an enhanced role throughout Somalia, including in the process of reconciliation and building bridges between all Somalis, including those who are not yet involved in the peace process.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): I would like to join my colleagues in expressing appreciation for the participation in this extraordinary Security Council meeting of the President of the Somali Transitional Federal Government, of representatives of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), of Member States Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia, and of representatives of the African Union. Their statements on recent developments in Somalia are very much welcome.

Romania associates itself with the commendation of the recent progress made at the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, culminating in the adoption of the Somali Transitional Federal Charter, the establishment of the Transitional Federal Parliament, the election of the Speaker of Parliament and the President of the transitional federal Government and the recent appointment of the Prime Minister. For those remarkable advances, tribute is due to the States members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) — in particular the Government of Kenya — and to other countries and organizations, mainly the European Union, the African Union (AU), the League of Arab States and the United Nations Political Office for Somalia. We encourage them to continue their efforts in that regard. At the present crucial juncture, Somalia needs our solidarity and our dedication more than ever before.

As provided by the Transitional Federal Charter, Somalia is now entering a five-year transitional period. The stakes are high, and they must be matched by the determination of all Somali parties towards peace and by the investment of the international community in support of their efforts. Prospects for a successful transitional period should be secured from the very outset. The most immediate task for the new Prime Minister will be related to the ability to establish a transitional Government that enjoys internal credibility and is able to fairly distribute, with political wisdom, the dividends of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

The challenges lying ahead for the new Government are certainly notable. In the short term, there is an urgent need to improve and expand security throughout the country, first and foremost through effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) activities. Increased reconciliation and reconstruction efforts, accompanied by concrete steps aimed at building democratic institutions, would

then pave the way for national elections at the end of the five-year transitional period.

Undoubtedly, the path leading to peace in Somalia after long years of severe conflict will not be easy to travel. However, the progress achieved thus far gives us reason to hope. Today could see the dawning of a new era for peace in Somalia. It is important to sustain the momentum and to encourage all Somali parties to assume their primary responsibilities in that regard.

International support for Somalia remains crucial. Romania welcomes and supports the decision taken by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union at its eighteenth meeting, held on 25 October, to accelerate preparations for the deployment of an AU military observer mission in Somalia upon request by the President of the transitional federal Government. We call on the African Union, in cooperation with the Somalis and in close coordination with IGAD and the United Nations, to explore the most appropriate configuration and mandate for such a future mission in Somalia in order to allow for the smooth progression of DDR and other activities aimed at consolidating the security climate throughout the country. The ultimate aim of the mission would be to assist in confidence-building and to foster national dialogue and the peaceful resolution of whatever disputes might emerge during the disarmament process.

We followed with interest the proceedings of the planning seminar on stabilization in Somalia during the transition, convened by the African Union in November in Addis Ababa. In particular, we agree on the need for the conclusion of a ceasefire agreement between the Government and other Somali forces and armed groups and for the establishment of the necessary legal, administrative and institutional framework prior to the deployment of an AU mission.

We also join in the appeal to the donor community to provide financial and material support to the newly established Somali institutions to ensure their functioning inside Somalia aimed at assisting in reconciliation, reconstruction and DDR efforts. In that regard, we commend the timely mobilization of the donor community, particularly the convening of the donor meeting in Stockholm on 29 October 2004.

In supporting efforts to rebuild the country, the international community needs to be guided by the expectations and needs of Somalis themselves. Somalis themselves must therefore reach consensus on establishing their own priorities and requirements for assistance through the expeditious formulation of a programme of action that contains concrete measures and deadlines covering the transitional process.

National consensus must be accompanied by consensus at the regional level. In that regard, we encourage the establishment of a framework that would provide for periodic consultations among members of IGAD, other States of the region and relevant regional and international partners as a viable opportunity to achieve a regional vision of the stabilization and reconstruction of Somalia. National and regional consensus would then brighten the prospects for increased international support and facilitate future discussions between the new Government and the United Nations aimed at exploring possibilities with regard to an expanded peace-building role and presence for the United Nations in Somalia.

Mr. Denisov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We note with satisfaction the great progress achieved with regard to a peaceful settlement for Somalia, particularly the election of the country's President and the appointment of its Prime Minister by the Transitional Federal Parliament. A unique opportunity is being created to bring about the rebirth of a country destroyed by a long internecine war. We should like to pay tribute to the United Nations, the African Union and the member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) for their important role in advancing the peace process in Somalia. In the near future, we expect to see the formation of a Somali transitional Government, which will make it possible to swiftly re-establish a lasting peace in the country, provide stability, strengthen national reconciliation, develop civil society and restore Somalia's status as a full member of the international community.

However, a breakthrough in the political sphere must be underpinned by tangible progress in the area of security. In that context, we welcome the African Union's intention to send a military observer mission to Somalia. But we cannot fail to be concerned at the periodic violations of the ceasefire agreement. For that reason, strict observance of the embargo on supplying weapons to Somalia remains urgent.

At this critical stage of the peace process in Somalia, the international community must support the

efforts of the Somalis themselves to complete the national reconciliation process. We are confident that the scheduled donor conference will help to define the best arrangements for international institutions and the new Somali leadership to work together in the post-conflict reconstruction of the country.

We believe that increasing United Nations involvement in addressing serious post-conflict problems in Somalia should be accompanied by a strengthening of the positive results achieved in the peace process. That will be possible, first and foremost, if the Somalis honour the commitments that they have made to the international community. We view the Security Council presidential statement to be adopted at the end of today's meeting as a clear signal to the Somalis of our readiness to support their efforts to peacefully rebuild their country.

Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council and as a participant in the IGAD Partners Forum, will continue to make a practical contribution to the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement and to the re-establishment of the State sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): This is a very welcome discussion and our particular thanks are due to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union, which actually embody, in this afternoon's discussion, why it is that our relations with the African Union matter so much. The Somali people deserve stability and security, and we all have our collective interest in creating a Somali State with institutions based on the rule of law and the prospect of enduring stability and prosperity. We should therefore welcome the progress made recently with the appointment of a transitional federal Government and the opportunity that is now offered.

I very much appreciate the contributions we have heard so far this afternoon. The starting point, of course, is as close to zero as you can get. Trying to build peace, establish stability and end conflict is pretty difficult in most cases, aad we have to recognize that in the case of Somalia it is about as difficult as it comes.

Listening to the request for a stability force, I am struck, really, by the question: to stabilize what? And if we have a peacekeeping force, what peace are we going to keep? And that is not a question I ask lightly. We have to think very carefully about deploying troops to do that sort of job in today's Somalia. I suspect, therefore, that there is a precondition to the deployment of a large force, and that is that a degree of stability has to be restored — perhaps through a clan-balanced Somali security force, but in any case a process of in-country dialogue needs to be established. However, there should not be confrontation, but rather cooperation, which will build upon and not undermine the existing areas of tranquillity in Somalia, particularly in Somaliland.

The key is a comprehensive ceasefire agreement that is binding on all parties. Here, the Security Council may well have a role to play in endorsing such an agreement. It seems to me that if the Transitional Federal Government can adopt the sort of positive and constructive agenda we have heard spoken of, it will deserve the strongest support from the international community — a support that is tailored, of course, to what is practical and possible on the ground. We believe that the draft declaration of principles and the proposed coordination of monitoring arrangements discussed in Stockholm offer a sound potential framework for engagement. They need to be discussed with the Transitional Federal Government as soon as possible.

I do not want to sound negative in what I am saying because, fundamentally, this is one of those cases where the United Nations has to take a strong lead role, particularly on the ground, in the proposed coordination arrangements for the international community, and be in a position to deliver whatever help is possible and is needed by the people of Somalia. So I would concentrate at this stage on providing maximum help for the observer mission, if that is to be put in place by the African Union — as much help as we can muster on the whole question of reconstruction and development.

And I believe we should try to help the Transitional Federal Government to move towards establishing the institutions that it will need, and the rule of law, in order to tackle the issues that are associated with the rule of law in the context of a growing stability and security. We should then look to be as ambitious as possible, because the lesson of history must be that failed States are something we should avoid, and that where States are close to failure, we must do our utmost to pick them up and give them every assistance, especially when they are as prepared

to help themselves as the Transitional Government appears to be.

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): We are indeed pleased that the situation in Somalia is on the agenda for our meeting. The process of national reconciliation in Somalia was begun under the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and has now made significant progress in the last few months. That has brought back hope for a restoration of the Somali State with the establishment of the transitional federal parliament and the election of a new federal President. Those two national institutions can indeed fill the gap that has existed since the collapse of the central Government in the early 1990s. We also salute the appointment of the Prime Minister. We fully agree with the content of the draft presidential statement proposed by the delegation of China. Accordingly, I shall confine myself to just a few comments.

We pay tribute to the coordinated efforts of IGAD and the international community, which have made possible this positive development in Somalia within the context of political discussions. However, the developments on the ground have not followed at the same rate, and we deplore the continuing clashes among the various protagonists. The critical security situation is indeed still disturbing. The same difficulty applies when it comes to building the people's faith in the institutions that are the necessary accoutrements of any modern State.

In this connection, we urge strict compliance with the arms embargo and the re-establishment of an integrated national army. We also recommend implementing a disarmament, demobilization rehabilitation or reintegration programme, which could indeed enhance security throughout the country. We also encourage initiatives, such as that of the European Commission, geared towards preparing demobilization programmes supported by community development projects so that former fighters will no longer have any incentive to continue fighting.

It is important that the new Somali President be able to establish as inclusive a Government as possible so that it can take over the functions now being carried out by the international community. We support his efforts in that context, and we would urge him to step up dialogue with local players to ensure that the conflict continues to be resolved by peaceful means and so as to restore the process of national reconciliation, which is essential to any national development.

We listened with great interest to the assessment of the situation offered by the ministers and the representative from IGAD. The prerequisites for stepping up the process are international support for security and increased humanitarian assistance in Somalia to stop the violence and help stabilize the country by ensuring better protection for human rights.

Mr. Baali (Algeria): I would like first of all to thank the ministers of Djibouti and Kenya, the facilitator from the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the representative of the current Chair of the African Union for the statements they have made this afternoon. However, I would also like to express our special thanks to President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed for finding the time to come to the Security Council and sharing with us his views and his vision on the future of Somalia.

Algeria has always been firmly attached to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Somalia based on respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity. We are therefore very pleased that, thanks to the tireless and highly commendable efforts of IGAD, in the last few weeks the Somali national reconciliation process has made significant progress towards achieving peace and security in Somalia, and in particular the establishment of the transitional parliament, the election of the President and the appointment of a Prime Minister. We are hopeful that a broad-based, all-inclusive and effective Government will soon be established and that all Somalis will seize this historic opportunity to make progress towards peace, stability and reconstruction of the country. Now that legitimate institutions are being put in place, it is imperative that the international community provide political, financial and economic support to Somalia. We are pleased, in this regard, that the African Union has expressed its readiness to assist in the transition process in Somalia, including in the field of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and we believe that the Security Council also has a role to play and responsibilities to assume in Somalia.

Together, we have to consider ways and means for the Security Council to assist the new institutions and the new Government to establish and exercise their

authority in the country. We believe that we should agree on an expanded peace-building role and presence of the United Nations, as has been recommended by the Secretary-General in his last report.

I will conclude my remarks by thanking the Ambassador of China for his leading role in keeping the issue of Somalia on the agenda of the Council and for introducing the presidential statement, which my delegation strongly supports.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is also pleased that this meeting has been held, which has enabled us to listen directly to President Ahmed Yusuf, the President of the Republic of Somalia, as well as authorities from the region.

It seems to me that this meeting demonstrates that there is growing interest on the part of the international community in Somalia, surely, because despite the great difficulties that we have been hearing about today, there still is a sense that one can perceive light at the end of the tunnel. So we view with great interest efforts that have been undertaken by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), with full awareness of the dangers inherent in Somali instability for the region and for the Horn of Africa. Efforts by IGAD have made it possible to move into a crucial stage. We would like to congratulate the countries of the region, Kenya in particular, which through IGAD have shown an outstanding commitment and have played a major role in this process, which has been painstakingly conducted and has required patience and determination.

France is gratified to note the crucial stage that has been passed with the election by the Parliament of the President of Somalia and the appointment of a Prime Minister. To be sure, we, like others, are impatient to see the establishment of a broad-based Government, and we would be happy to hear that its composition will soon be announced.

We appreciate the security concerns that have been expressed by President Ahmed Yusuf and the Chair of the African Union. We are aware of the problem, which should be given careful attention and discussed together with the international community. It could be addressed in various ways. That will be one of the first tasks of the Government.

Let me add that, together with the European Union, France stands ready to participate in rebuilding Somalia, something that is crucial to stability in the region. In conclusion, I would like to say that my delegation would like to thank Ambassador Wang for having led our discussions on this draft presidential statement on Somalia, and I wish to convey to him that my delegation gives its full support to the draft presidential statement.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): I thank all those authorities who made presentations during this meeting for the help they are giving us in our consideration of the current situation in Somalia. Brazil has welcomed the election of the Somali transitional President, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, who is among us, and I greet him. And we welcomed also the nomination of the Prime Minister of Somalia's new Transitional Federal Government. We hope those developments will be followed by further steps along the path of reconstruction of the frail State structures and legal system.

Progress in the peace process would not have taken place without the efforts developed by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). We value the role of IGAD and the relevant contribution of neighbouring African countries, which point to the strengthening of African conflict-solving capabilities.

Nevertheless, despite all efforts, many roadblocks are yet to be overcome before peace can prevail. The security scene is a source of particular concern, and not all military factions participated actively in the negotiations leading to the transition. Consequently, not all of them are committed to its success. Businessmen and warlords continue to take advantage of the present situation.

The African Union and member countries of IGAD are already discussing possible courses of action in response to the present crisis. We note that the Somali Government favours the idea of the deployment by the African Union of peacekeepers, who would help with disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, among other tasks. Brazil has consistently supported reinforcement of African capabilities in peacekeeping, and certainly my delegation will give friendly consideration to the issue of possibly sending a peacekeeping mission to Somalia.

The new President has also publicly manifested his intention to work towards a peaceful solution of the remaining conflicts. We hope he will persevere and

work as hard as he can to dissipate fears of a resort to force. In our view, the Council must continue to lend its clear, unequivocal message of support to the national reconciliation process and to IGAD efforts. I wish also to associate our delegation with the thanks that were expressed to Ambassador Wang for the work he has performed, and say that we support the statement before us this afternoon.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Ten years ago, Spain was a member of the Security Council, and I myself represented Spain at the time. So I had occasion to follow closely the debates that were held, and I also shared the frustration in the Council over the tragic developments in Somalia. After ups and downs, all kinds of difficulties, the Security Council finally gave up, as we all know.

Somalia has since been abandoned to fate. The Somalis have spent a decade in truly difficult conditions — to put it mildly. They have been marginalized by the international community, and have been in an appalling humanitarian, economic and social situation. Accordingly, we feel that the international community owes a debt to Somalia. That is why we wish to hail all the statements we have heard this afternoon from leading players in the Somali national reconciliation in process. As we have heard, that process is being conducted by the Somalis themselves, at different levels of social organization. With difficulty, they have been struggling to re-establish transitional institutions, with assistance first and foremost from subregional and regional organizations and with a United Nations presence. I would like to note the presence of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Winston Tubman. There has also been assistance from donors; I would like specifically to highlight the support provided by the European Union.

This process has led to the establishment of transitional federal institutions which, we hope, will soon be followed by the establishment of a broadly representative Government which will have the technical capacity to restore the basic mechanisms of an administration and of public services. Clearly, international assistance and cooperation will be required in that respect.

All of these efforts by the Somalis themselves, by countries in the region and by subregional and regional organizations, should be welcomed, acknowledged and supported by the international community. The Security Council already did this in its presidential statement dated 26 October 2004 (S/PRST/2004/38). We must remain ready to provide all possible cooperation to the efforts under way on the ground.

Specifically, we welcome the African Union's announced readiness to undertake a monitoring task and to deploy observers on the ground. But, as has been said here, much remains to be done. The road is not an easy one. And still to come is the crucial stage: the establishment of the new institutions on Somali soil. In our view, this must be achieved through continuous dialogue and understanding among the various sectors of Somali society. This is something that cannot be imposed, and the Security Council must stand ever ready to be politically and otherwise supportive of the entire transitional process; it is essential to re-establish the Somali State, so that Somalia can resume its rightful place in Africa and in the international community.

For those reasons, we wish to express our support for the draft presidential statement that has been prepared on the initiative of the Chinese delegation; it has been worked out and is the subject of consensus among Council members.

Mr. Lauderretche (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, my delegation would like to express its thanks for the statements made by States members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), by the representative of the African Union and by the IGAD facilitator.

For my country, the establishment of a Transitional Government and Parliament in Somalia is without question a very important step towards restoring peace and security there, after more than 14 years without a central government. It is our hope that the new transitional institutions will relocate to Somalia as soon as security conditions permit. In that regard, we regret that political progress has not been accompanied by significant improvement in the security situation prevailing in the country.

Moreover, the Somali reconciliation process still has a long way to go; genuine reconciliation among the parties still has yet to be achieved, and the original causes for the civil war still need to be adequately addressed.

We would like to take this opportunity to support and to express our appreciation for the efforts made by the IGAD members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, in particular the steps taken by the Government of Kenya with a view to resolving the complex differences among the various Somali groups thus facilitating the reconciliation process. In particular, we would like to express our thanks for the interesting and complete statement made by the President of the Transitional Government, Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed. My delegation notes his statement and thanks him for it.

Lastly, we would like to pay special tribute to the work done for peace and reconciliation in Somalia by the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Winston Tubman, and his team. We also acknowledge the humanitarian and development activities undertaken by the United Nations in Somalia.

In conclusion, we would like to thank the delegation of China for introducing and carrying out negotiations on the text of the draft presidential statement, which my delegation fully endorses.

The President: I will now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States supports the Somalia reconciliation process led by the Government of Kenya under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). This reconciliation process is central to the re-establishment of stability and effective governance in Somalia. It is the Somali transitional officials who are ultimately responsible for establishing governance inside Somalia and in whose hands the prospects for future stability and peace rest.

We urge the Transitional Federal President, Prime Minister and Assembly to focus on the immediate task at hand: the establishment of an effective Government, operating inside Somalia. The ability of the Transitional Federal Government to relocate to Somalia will depend largely on an ongoing process of reconciliation and on Somali officials' ability to reach out to a wide range of individuals inside Somalia. The transparent and inclusive selection of Government officials and the development of a strategy and timetable outlining the functional priorities of the Transitional Federal Government are critical elements of this task. After this strategy is presented, the international community will be better able to determine how best to support these efforts.

After 13 years, the possibility of re-establishing a Government in Somalia may finally be on the horizon. It will require sustained commitment, honesty and good will from all Somalis. We urge all Somali participants to focus on the needs of the Somali people, while respecting the peace, governance and security that exist in areas not currently participating in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, President of the Somali Transitional Federal Government, to respond to questions raised by Council members.

President Ahmed: I would like to hear the questions of the Council members. If I have specific questions, I will be able to answer positively.

The President: Mr. President, I think a question was raised by the representative of the Philippines.

President Ahmed: Our Prime Minister will answer the questions posed by the Philippines. I would like to thank you, Mr. President, as well as the members of the Security Council, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) ministers and other officials, and I would like to express our delegation's satisfaction at having participated in this two-day Security Council meeting in Nairobi on the Somali situation and how to solve Somali problems. I assure you, Mr. President, along with the rest of the Council, that I myself and the Government of Somalia will do our utmost so that Somalia will be at peace as soon as possible. We are determined to do whatever we can, because our country needs peace and reconstruction. We know that our task is difficult, but that we are ready to face those difficulties, and we are sure that Somalia will be at peace as soon as possible.

The President: I now call on the Prime Minister of the Somali Transitional Federal Government.

Mr. Geedi: I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the Security Council. I take this opportunity to answer a few questions posed by Council members.

The first question was about when the cabinet of the Transitional Federal Government will be formed. My answer is that I am consulting with all of the

stakeholders and am within the time frame of the transitional charter of Somalia. So within the coming two weeks or before the end of this month, I will come up with my cabinet.

The other question was about the relocation or return of the Government to Somalia. I think that my President stated that we, the Government, will not remain an exile Government. As soon as we form the cabinet we will move to Somalia, probably by January at th, latest. The reason is that immediately after the formation of the cabinet, we are planning to send a mission of ministers and members of parliament to travel all over the country. Therefore, on the basis of their findings and assessments, the Government will immediately relocate to the country.

Another question raised by speakers was how the reconciliation process will be completed. That is a priority of the Government, and the reconciliation process will be completed through dialogue and in a peaceful manner throughout all of Somalia.

Therefore, I want lastly to assure the Security Council that we will be able to address the tasks ahead of us. We believe that we have an environment conducive to that among the Somali people and in the parliament due to the inclusiveness of the reconciliation process and the achievements made so far with the support of subregional, regional and international organizations.

The President: After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reaffirms all its previous resolutions and the statements of its President concerning the situation in Somalia, in particular the statement by its President dated 26 October 2004.

"The Security Council reiterates its commitment to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Somalia and its respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia, consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The Security Council welcomes the progress made in the Somali national reconciliation process, in particular the establishment of the Transitional Federal Parliament, the election of the Speaker of the Parliament and the President and the appointment of the Prime Minister, which provides a sound and solid framework to achieve a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Somalia situation. The Council reiterates its expectation of the establishment of a broad-based, all-inclusive and effective Government inside Somalia that will continue the reconciliation efforts with all Somali parties.

"The Security Council stresses that it is the responsibility of all Somali parties to work together to consolidate the gains made so far and to achieve further progress. The Council calls upon them to seize this historic opportunity for peace in Somalia by developing a programme of action and timetable for the transitional period, creating a favourable environment for long-term stability and making determined efforts to rebuild the country.

"The Security Council commends member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), in particular the Government of Kenya, as well as other countries and organizations for all their constructive efforts to facilitate the Somali national reconciliation process.

"The Security Council reaffirms its support for the commitment of the African Union to assist the transitional process in Somalia, in particular the planning for a mission in Somalia, including options for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

"The Security Council encourages and urges donor countries, regional and subregional organizations to provide support for the future Somali Government's and institutions' efforts to ensure their ability to function inside Somalia and to assist in the reconstruction of Somalia. The Council encourages a dialogue between the international donor community and the future Transitional Federal Government on the principles and modalities of international coordination under discussion, including at the Stockholm meeting of 29 October 2004, and welcomes the United Nations lead facilitating

role in that dialogue and in the subsequent coordination arrangements.

"The Security Council reaffirms its full support for the peace process in Somalia and the commitment of the United Nations to assist the regional and subregional efforts in this regard.

"The Security Council expresses its determination to continue to monitor the situation closely."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2004/43.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.